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WAKEFIELD'S HISTORY
OF THE
BLACK HAWK WAR



BLACK HAWK

A CELEBRATED SAC BRAVE

PAINTED FROM LIFE BY J. O. LEWIS OF DETROIT, 1835

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WAKEFIELD'S HISTORY
OF THE
BLACK HAWK WAR

A REPRINT OF THE FIRST EDITION BY JOHN A. WAKE-
FIELD, ESQUIRE, FROM THE PRESS OF CALVIN
GOUDY, JACKSONVILLE, ILLINOIS, 1834;
WITH THIRTEEN PHOTOGRAVURE
ILLUSTRATIONS, AND PREF-
ACE AND NOTES

BY
FRANK EVERETT STEVENS



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MCMVIII

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JOHN ALLEN WAKEFIELD.

JOHN ALLEN WAKEFIELD, second son of William and Diana (Varner) Wakefield, was born February 22, 1797, at Pendleton, South Carolina. The father was a native of North Carolina, of Scotch-Irish ancestry. The mother (who died at Quincy, Illinois, at the age of nearly 107 years) was a native of South Carolina, of Scotch-Irish and French Huguenot ancestry. The father, William, a man of education, spent most of his manhood as a teacher.

John Allen received his name in honor of Major-General John Allen of Virginia, who was a cousin to Diana Varner Wakefield.

When he was seven years old, John's parents moved to middle Tennessee, where they remained but a short time, and then pushed on to Barren County, Kentucky. In 1808, the family removed to Illinois Territory, settling where Lebanon, St. Clair County, is now located.

During the first two years of life in Illinois, and while the family was "forted," owing to the hostility of the Indians, privations without number were endured. The War of 1812-14, which followed, was particularly aggressive and sanguinary in Illinois. Militia companies, organized for campaign and scouting duties, constantly patrolled the state.

Wakefield, though but sixteen years of age, manifested an unusual aptitude for scouting service, and to gratify a passion for that service, he enlisted in the company of Captain Jacob Short, in which he served

8 JOHN ALLEN WAKEFIELD

from February 27 to June 9, 1813. Afterward he served as special scout for General Howard, earning the highest praises from that faithful officer, particularly as the bearer of dispatches, later called "expresses." One of his trips was fraught with such peril that his father applied for a writ of habeas corpus to take him from it; but learning of the issuance of the writ, he stole away in the night and crossed the Mississippi in a canoe, swimming his horse behind. The trip was made in answer to a call from General Russell, then at St. Louis, for a volunteer to carry dispatches to Vincennes (called in the vernacular of the day *Post Vincennes*), through a trackless wilderness of 175 miles, swarming with hostile Indians. It proved as perilous as had been anticipated, but he made it safely, returning by another route. One night he camped in a sink-hole. The following morning was foggy. A war party of unusual size was heard approaching. His horse became nervous and liable at any moment to attract attention; but he hastily threw a blanket over its head, and the party passed within a few feet of the sink-hole, without detecting him. The dangers and struggles of the Illinois frontiersman during those perilous days cannot be magnified, and Wakefield had his full share of them.

At the close of the war he went to Cincinnati, where he studied medicine diligently for a considerable period, afterward going to St. Louis to finish his studies. But it seems that once in possession of his diploma, he decided medicine did not offer him the field anticipated, and at once turned to studying for the bar, to which he was admitted when in his twenty-first year. His examination was conducted at Vandalia, where he settled and remained until 1837, during the last three years of which time he saw much of Abraham Lincoln. As an outgrowth of an intimacy formed in

MAJOR JOHN A. WAKEFIELD



the Black Hawk campaign, Mr. Lincoln, while a member of the legislature, lived with Mr. Wakefield in Vandalia.

In 1818 Wakefield was married to Eliza Thompson, a native of Bourbon County, Kentucky, daughter of Abram Thompson and Elizabeth (Brown) Thompson.

One of the most important services rendered by Wakefield, and one which should command the respect of every Illinoisan, was his determined stand against the introduction of slavery in the State of Illinois, attempted during the administration of Governor Edward Coles. The legislature which convened at Vandalia, December 2, 1822, and adjourned February 18, 1823, passed a resolution by infamous means, calling for a constitutional convention, at which an amendment was expected to be framed which would permit slavery in the State. For sixteen months the young State was a battle-ground, during which the anti-convention men were made targets for every manner of insult and assault. Wakefield, being a ready speaker and writer, plunged into the campaign with great vigor, paying his own expenses while canvassing the State, and had the satisfaction of witnessing the rout of the slavery or convention men by a decisive victory. For his services during that campaign, he was elected a member of the next (fourth) House of Representatives, which sat from November 15, 1824, to January 18, 1825, and from January 2 to January 18, 1826.

From "The Vandalia Whig" of July 3, 1834, I notice that he was a candidate for Representative against Robert Blackwell and Colonel Samuel Houston, but Mr. Blackwell was elected.

When Governor Reynolds called for volunteers to drive out Black Hawk in 1832, Wakefield enlisted in the company of Captain John Dement. It was mustered

into service April 20th, but with the entire army was mustered out May 28th, after the unfortunate Stillman's battle. Neither Wakefield nor Captain Dement's company participated in Stillman's battle. When a new levy of troops reached Dixon's Ferry, Wakefield was found enlisted in the company of Captain William L. D. Ewing. Ewing, being elected Major of a spy battalion, served as captain but a day or so, and Captain Samuel Huston (or Houston) succeeded in command.

First appointed surgeon, by reason of his medical knowledge, Wakefield was speedily transferred to the scouting service, in which he continued to the end of the war. For his efficient work he was promoted to the rank of Major. At the Bad Axe battle, fought at the mouth of the Bad Axe River, he received a slight wound. As that engagement finished the war and the fighting career of Black Hawk, the army marched overland to Dixon's Ferry, where Wakefield was discharged by Lieutenant Robert Anderson, August 16, 1832.

The following year, Major Wakefield wrote the history of that war, which is hereafter set forth. Written when fresh in his memory, and from his daily journal kept without interruption from its beginning to its end, this first history of the war must be accorded accuracy as well as general interest. Inasmuch as the records of the War Department do not disclose the names of many of the officers, the value of the record which Wakefield's book supplied is inconceivable.

The first edition of the book was published in Jacksonville, Illinois, in 1834, by Calvin Goudy. Its dimensions are 7 by 4 $\frac{1}{8}$ inches. It contains blank leaf, title-page, certificate of copyright, four pages of "preface," four pages of "contents" (all of which are numbered as follows: iii not numbered, iv, v, vi, vii, viii, ix, and x), 142 pages of text, beginning with page 1 (not

numbered), and followed from 2 consecutively to and including 142, and two blank leaves. The binding was made in boards with mottled covers, calf back, and red leather label stamped in gilt with the words, "Black Hawk War." The edges were stained a canary color.

A second edition, thoroughly revised and very much enlarged, was published at Cincinnati in the year 1836. Only 300 copies were delivered, the others being destroyed by a fire which burned the establishment and its contents. Copies of the latter edition are so rare that not one has been offered for sale for at least fifteen years.

The Black Hawk War having made the people of southern Illinois acquainted with the fertility and richness of the northern part of the State and the southern part of Wisconsin, a series of northward migrations set in. In 1837 Major Wakefield joined in the hegira, and settled in Jo Daviess County, where he remained, with the exception of the years 1839 and 1840, spent in Carroll County, until 1846, when he crossed over into Iowa County, Wisconsin, and there remained until the spring of 1849. In that year he removed to St. Paul, Minnesota, and was elected its first city judge.

The winters of Minnesota were so severe that he moved again southward to Allamakee County, Iowa, in 1851, where he lived until 1854. Then he went to Kansas to enjoy its milder climate, and settled at the point which subsequently became Lawrence, whence not more than half a dozen families had preceded him. Becoming a landholder, he remained at that place until the day of his death, June 18, 1873.

Upon the history of Kansas Wakefield left an indelible imprint. There the question of slavery had to be fought as he had fought it in Illinois thirty years before. In his new home the struggle was much longer, and he suffered the loss of much of the considerable

wealth which he had accumulated in Minnesota and Iowa. But his fortunes improving, he became a strong factor in moulding Kansas into a rich commonwealth, and his declining years were prosperous.

In the struggle in Kansas with the slavery element, he was made the first free-state candidate for delegate to Congress, for which office he received three fourths of the legal votes cast at the election. But it will be remembered, that following the hint of Senator Atchison of Missouri, "When you reside within one day of the Territory, you can send five hundred of your young men who will vote in favor of your institutions," voters were poured into Kansas from Missouri, and the candidate of the slave-holding interests was elected by an enormous majority. Indeed, he received eleven hundred votes more than the number of legal voters in the Territory three months afterward.

Wakefield was elected State Treasurer under the Topeka constitution which he had helped to frame, and as chairman of the judiciary committee of the first and many succeeding legislatures, was largely responsible for the State's excellent code of laws. Lawrence was the storm-center of those perilous times. During the fierce "border troubles," when the Territory was constantly invaded by large bodies of armed men from Missouri, Wakefield was constantly the leader of the free-state settlers, and for his courage and pertinacity in opposing the slavery forces was made the principal target for their attacks. Just west of Lawrence he had built a large house and many substantial out-buildings, but the invaders, on the night of September 1, 1856, fired and burned every building on the place. The fine library in the house and two manuscripts ready for publication, together with 140 acres of wheat and oats in the stack, were destroyed. That disaster involved a loss of \$10,000. The attack was so sudden and unexpected,

that the escape of the family was nothing short of miraculous.

Judge Wakefield, as he was called the latter years of his life, died at Lawrence June 18, 1873, in his seventy-seventh year.

To conclude, it should be added that his wife Eliza died in 1871. From the union twelve children were born, eight of whom reached middle age or more. Lysander and Alvin, first and second sons respectively, died at Vandalia in childhood. George Washington, the third son, lost his life by an accident in California when about 45 years of age. Mrs. Mary A. Willard, eldest daughter, died December 7, 1903, in Los Angeles, California, at the age of 82. Martha Ann Wakefield died near Lawrence in 1855. Mrs. Emily Terry, third daughter, resides at present in the city of Chicago. Mrs. Eliza J. Snyder, fourth daughter, died at Lawrence, December 7, 1902. William H. T. Wakefield, fourth son, to whom I am under obligation for the facts herein stated, is a resident of Mound City, Kansas. John Allen, Jr., died July 31, 1865, aged 29 years. Thomas J., the youngest, was accidentally killed at Denver, Colorado, November 1, 1890, by the fall of a derrick. Two daughters, Sarah and Diana, died in infancy.

FRANK EVERETT STEVENS.

HISTORY OF THE WAR

BETWEEN

THE UNITED STATES AND THE SAC AND FOX NA-
TIONS OF INDIANS, AND PARTS OF OTHER
DISAFFECTED TRIBES OF INDIANS,

IN THE YEARS

EIGHTEEN HUNDRED AND TWENTY-SEVEN, THIRTY-
ONE, AND THIRTY-TWO

BY JOHN A. WAKEFIELD, ESQ.

JACKSONVILLE, ILL.

PRINTED BY CALVIN GOUDY.

1834.

District of Illinois, ss.

BE IT REMEMBERED, That on this twenty-eighth day of August, *Anno Domini* eighteen hundred and thirty-three, John A. Wakefield, of said district, hath deposited in this office the title of a book, which is in the words following, to wit: "History of the War between the United States and the Sac and Fox nations of Indians, and parts of other disaffected tribes of Indians, in the years eighteen hundred and twenty-seven, thirty-one and thirty-two, by John A. Wakefield, Esq." The right whereof he claims as author, in conformity with an act of Congress entitled "An act to amend the several acts respecting copy rights."

A true copy.

Attest,

W. H. BROWN,
Clerk of the District of Illinois.

PREFACE.

IN presenting this small volume to the world, the author is aware that he is exposing his name to the public calumny, by those who are ready at all times to find fault; but he hopes the candid, who will reflect a moment on the many difficulties attending the compiling such a work, will be as charitable towards him, as the nature of the case will admit. They must reflect that the many actors in the late war have not all the same views of things that took place—as it is the nature of man to differ in opinions, and those that were eye witnesses of the events recorded in this narrative, (or history,) to have different opinions from each other.

The writer who traces events at a remote period from the time they transpired, stands on more favorable ground, because they are not fresh in every one's memory, and men are not disposed to find so much fault.

But it has been the aim of the author to track as near the truth, as his knowledge of the different actors, and all that were in any way concerned in the war, would permit. If he is found in error, it will be an error of the head and not of the heart.

But he is aware that he has not done this subject that justice which its importance deserves. But, as he has already observed, he hopes an honorable and patriotic people will exercise all the charity that characterizes the American people, and, more especially, to one that never attempted before to write for the inspection of an enlightened republic.

For a history of the expedition against the Indians, the author has to depend upon public record, and such other information as is well authenticated by men that can be confided in; but in the last two campaigns, the author was an eye witness to almost all that he has here written.

In order to give a full detail of all the transactions and relationship between those Indians and the United States, the author has thought it would be more satisfactory to give all the treaties that ever were held with them, which commenced in eighteen hundred and four.

Many false reports have gone abroad respecting the lands of those Indians, representing that the Government has not done strict justice.

In giving an account of the frontier massacres by the Indians, the author has to depend on newspaper information; but it is his opinion that all that have been found upon record, which were published in this state, are literally true, and may be relied upon as facts.

But, it is not in the power of the author to give an account of all the massacres that the Indians have committed on the frontier, as many were committed that have not been recorded; or, if they were, the author has not been fortunate enough to get possession of them.

In giving the different treaties, the author principally confines himself to the Sac and Fox nations:—But, in the last treaty which has lately been made, he will be able to give the substance, or the whole of the treaty with the Winnebagoes.

He would be glad to enter into a history of the hostilities that took place between the Winnebagoes and the United States, in 1827, but he has not such documents before him as would justify a review of it. And he is also well aware that some more able hand will, in due time, give the whole of the transactions of those Indians a thorough investigation; and that the public

will not suffer by the author's passing over the particulars of that expedition against those Indians.

The author deems it necessary to confine himself to facts, and without some public documents, more than his own knowledge, he could not with any propriety, enter into a full history of the transactions between the United States and those Indians, more than simply to state, that they made an attack on some keel boats that were running on the Mississippi, and commanded by Captain Allen Lindsey, and the general outline of the transactions afterward, in bringing them to a treaty.

This was the first difference, of any importance, that took place between the United States and those Indians, since the war with Great Britain.

The author, in order to show the cause of difference between the United States and the Sac and Fox Indians, thinks it best to lay before the reader many interesting documents, consisting of letters and a number of depositions, to show the necessity of the Executive in calling upon the militia of the state of Illinois, to protect its citizens:—And he flatters himself that, after the perusal of those letters and depositions, none will have the hardihood to say, that Governor Reynolds did wrong in the course he pursued to subdue those Indians.

The author takes more pains, and troubles the reader with those documents more than he would have done, if he had not seen with regret, that misrepresentations have gone abroad respecting those Indians.

He flatters himself that, after a perusal of the different treaties entered into by the United States and the Sac and Fox Indians, and the many violations of those treaties by those Indians, all will justify the course taken to bring them to subjection, and restore peace to our country,—which is the case at this time:—and that it could not be done in any other way than a resort

to arms, as all other means were tried, both by General Clark, and the different Indian Agents; and that with a great degree of forbearance on the part of the General Government, which the reader will plainly see when he takes a full view of the many outrages and depredations committed by those lawless savages, who did everything except murder, before there was a call for men to volunteer in defence of their country.

The author wishes further to observe, that he has taken all the pains that lay in his power, to place the different officers to their proper command, and to detail the part they acted in the war: But he at the same time is well aware that there may be some officers whom he may not mention, that are deserving well of their country; on account of not having it in his power to get a complete list of all the mounted volunteers, that turned out in defence of their country; for many of them were stationed on the frontier, and did not march with the main army, but performed important services in defence of the northern frontiers; as many of the citizens would have certainly been destroyed by the Indians, whose known mode of warfare, is to steal upon the helpless part of [the] community, at the dead hour of night, when there is no chance of defence.

So, I consider that those rangers who were placed on the frontier, performed a high and important service, in ranging those frontiers, and protecting the lawful settler in quietness at his own fireside, and [saving] his wife and children from becoming a prey to the savage barbarity of the tomahawk and scalping knife.

THE AUTHOR.

VANDALIA, ILLINOIS, 1833.

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HISTORY OF THE LATE INDIAN WAR.

CHAPTER I.

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THE author, in giving a history of the late war between the United States and the Sac and Fox nations of Indians, thinks it would be doing the subject injustice, not to give an outline of the difficulties that took place between the United States and the Winnebagoes, in the year eighteen hundred and twenty-seven, which he has observed in his preface, was the first disturbance of any kind that took place between

the Government of the United States and the Winnebagoes since the last war with Great Britain. But the author, in giving a small outline of this disturbance, has to depend upon his memory alone; as, at that time, it had never entered his head that he would be the biographer of this small disturbance that took place between the Government and those Indians.

But, in attempting to give the public the causes and particulars of the war betwixt the Government and the Sac and Fox nations of Indians, he thinks that it would not be amiss to take a passing notice of the transactions that took place on this occasion.

Captain Allen Lindsey,¹ a gentleman of the first respectability in our country, was running a couple of keel boats on the Upper Mississippi, in the summer of eighteen hundred and twenty-seven; when within a few miles of Prairie du Chien, was visited by a number of Winnebago Indians, some of them came aboard of his boats and showed signs of hostility to him, such as preyed upon his mind so much that, before he returned, he provided himself with a few fire arms, so that, in case of an attack by them, he might be able to defend himself.

He was at this time on his way up to St. Peters. He made his trip, and accordingly on his return, when within a few miles of Prairie du Chien, he was again visited by those same Indians. He had to pass down the river close to their towns and habitation for several miles; for that is the way these wretched beings live, in small bark wigwams, along some water course, where they can paddle their canoes.

But agreeably to Capt. Lindsey's expectations, he was not permitted to pass by their dwellings in peace. — Very late in the evening, a number of those blood thirsty savages made their appearance to him in a menacing manner, by opening a heavy fire upon his

boats; and by the help of their canoes attempted to board them. But Capt. Lindsey, had fortunately for him, anticipated that they did not intend to let him pass without firing him a salute of this description. He was prepared for them, although he had but few men aboard of his boats, but what he had proved to be soldiers. The Indians opened a heavy fire upon him, which was returned by him and his boat's crew with double interest. There were a large number of Indians, who charged upon him in their canoes, thinking to board his boats, but he prevented them by the hardest kind of fighting. They came so near boarding him, that, a number of them lashed their canoes to his boats; but he gave them a quietus in the act, and they bequeathed their canoes to him in return, and became bait for the fish of the Mississippi. At this, each one made shift for himself. The Indians paddled their canoes in one direction, and Captain Lindsey rowed his boats the other.

Captain Lindsey lost two fine men in the action, and a number wounded;² but how many I do not recollect at this time. If this officer had not anticipated mischief from those wretched beings, there is no doubt but that he and his whole crew would have been massacred by those inhuman barbarians; for it is generally supposed that it was plunder, or, in other words, the cargo that the boats contained, they were after.

Captain Lindsey ran his boats down as soon as possible, to Galena, a small town on Fever river, six miles above where it empties itself into the Mississippi, which is now the county seat of Jo Daviess county, in the north-west corner of the State of Illinois.

When Captain Lindsey arrived at that point, and gave the news, it created great fear and alarm; to such a degree, that expresses were sent in different directions to inform the citizens of the Mines to move into

Galena, and prepare for war. The people of the Mines took the alarm, so that in two days' time there were not less than three thousand men, women and children, who fled to this place for safety. Those Indians had made many threats against the miners, and had at different times ordered them off, and told them to quit the diggings, saying that the ground they were digging on was theirs. This news, coming at this time, when they were apprehensive of mischief, gave them an alarm, and caused them to fly to Galena for safety. They forsook their rude habitations, and assembled at that place, in order to assist in defending each other. There were a few forts built in the more thickly settled parts of the Mines, and some of the most fearless [of the] citizens occupied them.

There was a committee of safety appointed in Galena, who corresponded with all parts of the Mines, and adopted measures for the safety and preservation of all; and in the mean time had some strong block houses built at Galena. The people likewise, who were able and willing to bear arms, volunteered and formed themselves into companies, and chose their own officers; ranged the country, and kept a good lookout, for fear the Indians would steal upon them, and take them by surprise.

Governor Cass, in the mean time, was not inactive, but corresponded with Governor Edwards, then Governor of Illinois. Governor Edwards immediately raised one regiment of mounted volunteers in the northern counties, and sent them on to the relief of the mining country, and to go against those Indians. They elected Thomas M. Neale their commander. The people of the Mines formed themselves into another corps, and elected General Dodge their commander—a man well qualified to command, and who had some experience in the same.

COLONEL HENRY DODGE



Col. Neale marched his regiment to the Mines, but no further. Gen. Dodge, assisted by Gov. Cass,³ marched on a force of near one thousand men,⁴ to the portage of the Wisconsin and Fox rivers, where the Indians sued for peace. A treaty was then made with them. They gave up their commander, who had been the principal cause of the war, whom they called the Red Bird. He was put in prison at Prairie du Chien, and was to have been kept as a hostage for the good behavior of the rest of his nation, but he soon died.

After this treaty, the forts were again forsaken, and the citizens returned to their respective habitations, and peace and safety seemed to be felt by all, until the hostile movement of the Sacs and Foxes, in the spring of eighteen hundred and thirty-one; when they invaded the State of Illinois, by leaving their own side of the Mississippi, crossing over, and attempting to claim the land they had sold to the General Government, in the neighborhood of Rock Island. Here this terrible and warlike nation of Indians committed all kinds of outrage on the citizens near this place. The citizens had purchased the land they lived upon from the General Government, and had opened good farms, built houses, and had been living in peace and quietness for nearly three years, when these wretched monsters in human shape attempted to drive them from their homes, and take possession of them themselves; which in fact they did.* But this was not all those savage monsters did. They turned their horses into their wheat fields, killed their stock, and laid waste whole farms.

It was time now for those citizens to ask for assistance from their countrymen. They did so. Petition after petition was sent to the Governor of Illinois, laying before him their grievances.† Governor

* See Appendix, Note No. 1.

† See Appendix, Note No. 2.

Reynolds hesitated not a moment, but addressed the proper officers on this important subject. He addressed letters to Generals Clark and Gaines on this subject, and tried every means that lay in his power to dissuade those unhappy people to desist from their designs, and return back to their own side of the Mississippi to their own land. But to this they turned a deaf ear too, as well as to all kind of entreaty that could be made through their agents, or Gen. Gaines or any other person. They bid defiance to General Gaines, and bantered him to fight them with his regulars. This was enough. Gen. Gaines saw now that there was no way of settling this business, only by a resort to arms. He accordingly made a call upon Governor Reynolds for seven hundred mounted volunteers to co-operate with him in driving them from the State.*

Governor Reynolds immediately obeyed the call, and issued his proclamation to the citizens of the northern counties of Illinois, who turned out to the number of fifteen hundred strong, and rendezvoused at Beardstown, on the Illinois river; and between the first and tenth days of June were organized into a brigade, under the command of Gen. Joseph Duncan.

This brigade was officered in the following manner, viz: James D. Henry, of Sangamon county, Colonel of the first regiment; Jacob Fry, Lieutenant Colonel; John T. Stuart, Major; Thomas Collins, Adjutant; Edward Jones, Quarter Master; and Thomas M. Neale, Paymaster. The Captains were as follows: Adam Smith, William F. Elkin, A. Morris, Thomas Carlin, Samuel Smith, John Lorton, and Samuel C. Pierce.

The second Regiment was commanded by Colonel Daniel Leib, of Morgan County; ————, Lieutenant Colonel; Nathaniel Butler, Major; Captains H. Mathews, John Ha[i]nes, George Bristow, William

* See Appendix, Note No. 3.

Gilham, [Hiram] Kincade, Alexander Wells, William Weatherford, and W. Jordan, Quarter Master.

There was one odd battalion, which was officered in the following manner: Nathaniel Buckmaster,⁵ Major; James Semple, Adjutant; Joseph Gillespie, Paymaster; [David Wright,] Quarter Master; Richard Roman, Surgeon; Captains William Moore, John Loramie, [Loraine] and Solomon Miller. [Charles Higbee was Surgeon and Roman was Mate.—Ed.]

The spy battalion, next, was officered in the following manner: Samuel Whiteside,⁶ Major; Samuel F. Kendle, Adjutant; John S. Greathouse, Quarter Master; P. H. Winchester, Pay Master; Captains Erastus Wheeler, William B. Whiteside, William Miller, and Solomon Prewitt.⁷

Those were the officers that composed the brigade under Gen. Joseph Duncan, with a few exceptions. The name of the Lieutenant Colonel in Col. Leib's regiment, I have not been fortunate enough to get in possession of, and I have not been able to get all the staff officers belonging to it;⁸ for I have no public record to resort to. Therefore, I hope no gentleman will think hard of me, or feel himself slighted in not having his name inserted in this history.

General Duncan, after his brigade was organized, took the line of march for the seat of war, or where the savage rebels were assembled and bidding defiance to General Gaines and his regulars, at or near Rock Island.

When General Duncan arrived at Rock River, he had to cross this stream near an island; and for fear of an ambuscade, General Gaines had it raked with a six pounder, so that if the enemy were concealed in this hiding place, he might drive them from it until his men could cross. — He fired his six pounder⁹ a number of times into this Island, but the enemy had taken

the alarm, and crossed over the Mississippi; but still kept embodied for action. They did not much like the sound of the six pounder.

Some of them afterwards came over to Rock Island, where General Duncan had arrived with his men, and joined General Gaines, who took command of all the forces then in the field. They held a white flag in their hands. They now sued for peace. The Black Hawk was not one of the company. General Gaines demanded of them to bring him. They at first refused, but he told them that he would march his forces across the river and cut them off, if they did not produce him. They then returned and brought the wretched Hawk, who had caused so much trouble to them and our own Government.

They then entered into capitulations of a treaty;* the articles of which they violated in a few weeks afterwards by the most daring outrage. It was stipulated in the articles, that they were to remain on the west side of the Mississippi, and never to cross the river, and come into the State of Illinois, without the permission of the President of the United States or the Governor of Illinois. But they soon forgot this agreement. They crossed over in a few weeks, went within a few hundred yards of Prairie du Chien, in the dead hour of night, fell upon a camp of Menominie Indians, slaughtered and killed twenty-five of them; and that too, within gun-shot of a garrison of regulars. Those Menominie Indians never have been at war with the Government of the United States. They have ever looked to it for protection.—They had been that day in an Indian frolic, and were nearly all drunk. It is a well known thing, that, when Indians get into one of those drunken frolics, they are dangerous, one

* See Appendix, Note No. 4. See General Gaines's Report to President U. S., Appendix, Note No. 5.

FORT ARMSTRONG



to another, and the squaws invariably make it a rule to hide their arms until they get sober. This was the case at this time. Those Menominies had just been gorging with this hydra monster of all evil, and were lying in their wigwams, lost in sleep; never dreaming or thinking that there was the least danger of being butchered by those hideous monsters, that were of the same species of human beings with themselves. But the deadly tomahawk and spear were buried in them when in their helpless situation. The Menominies, it is said, succeeded in killing four of these savage monsters, who deserved to die the worst of deaths.¹⁰

The Menominies immediately informed Gen. Street of the massacre. He repaired immediately to the battle ground. They appeared to be in great distress for the loss of their friends. They had killed a number of squaws and children. The Menominies made heavy complaints to Gen. Street, saying, you have told us that you would protect us, and see that the Sacs and Foxes would let us alone. Gen. Street told them that they would be punished for what they had done. He accordingly sent a communication to Governor Reynolds, informing him of their movements, and the slaughter of the Menominies; and at the same time, took measures to demand the murderers; the particulars of which I am not able to lay before the public. But instead of the Sacs and Foxes delivering up the murderers, they, early in the spring following, crossed over to the State of Illinois, armed and equipped for war, and passed by, almost in sight of Fort Armstrong, bidding defiance to General Atkinson, the commander of the fort. Gen. Atkinson then communicated to Governor Reynolds, by express, their movements. Governor Reynolds then lost no time in issuing his proclamation to the citizens of Illinois, calling for volunteers.

CHAPTER II.

The Sac and Fox Indians cross over the Mississippi to the State of Illinois, in a warlike manner—Extract of a letter from General Hughes to Gen. Atkinson—Extract of a letter from George Davenport to Gen. Atkinson—Extract of a letter from Gen. Atkinson to his Excellency, Governor Reynolds—Proclamation of Governor Reynolds to the citizens of Illinois—Visit made to the hostile band, by Henry Gratiot, Esq., sub Indian Agent for the Winnebagoes—Rendezvous of the Volunteers at Beardstown—Organized into a brigade under Gen. Whiteside—Mustered into the service of the United States at Rock Island—Col. John Ewing and the Author sent ahead to spy out the enemy's camp; take a prisoner, and return—Meet the Army—Arrival at Dixon's, on Rock river.

Extract of a letter from General Hughes, sub Indian Agent, to General Atkinson, dated,

“Rock Island, April 13th, 1832.

“My opinion is, that the squaws and old men have gone to the Prophet's town, on Rock river—and the warriors are now only a few miles below the mouth of Rock river, within the limits of the State of Illinois. That those Indians are hostile to the whites there is no doubt. That they have invaded the State of Illinois, to the great injury of her citizens, is equally true. Hence it is, that the public good requires that strong as well as speedy measures should be taken against Black Hawk and his followers.

“Respectfully I have, the honor to be,

“Your obedient servant.

(Signed.)

“ANDREW S. HUGHES.”

“To Brig. Gen. Atkinson.”

Extract of a letter from George Davenport, Esq. to Brigadier General Atkinson, dated,

“Rock Island, April 13th, 1832.

“*Dear Sir:* In reply to your enquiries of this morning, respecting the Indians, I have to state, that I have been informed by the man I have wintering with the Indians, that the British band of Sac Indians are determined to make war upon the frontier settlements. The British band of Sac Indians did rendezvous at old fort Madison, and induced a great many of the young men to join them on their arrival at the Yellow Banks. They crossed about five hundred head of horses into the State of Illinois, and sent about seventy horses through the country toward Rock river. The remainder, some on horseback, the others in canoes, in a fighting order, advanced up the Mississippi, and were encamped yesterday five or six miles below Rock river, and will no doubt endeavor to reach their strong hold in the Rock river swamps, if they are not intercepted. From every information that I have received, I am of opinion, that the intention of the British band of Sac Indians, is to commit depredations on the inhabitants of the frontier.

“Respectfully your ob’t. serv’t.

(Signed.)

“GEO. DAVENPORT.”

“To Brig. Gen. Atkinson.”

Extract of a letter from Gen. Atkinson to his Excellency, Governor Reynolds, dated,

“Fort Armstrong, April 13th, 1832.

“*Dear Sir:* The band of Sacs under Black Hawk, joined by about one hundred Kickapoos, and a few Pottawatamies, amounting in all to about five hundred men, have assumed a hostile attitude. They crossed the river at the Yellow Banks, on the sixth instant, and are now moving up on the east side of Rock river towards the Prophet’s village.

* * * * *

“The regular force under my command, is too small to justify me in pursuing the hostile party. To make an unsuccessful attempt to coerce them, would only irritate them to

acts of hostility on the frontier, sooner than they probably contemplate.

"Your own knowledge of the character of these Indians, with the information herewith submitted, will enable you to judge of the course proper to be pursued. I think the frontier is in great danger, and will use all the means at my disposal to co-operate with you, in its protection and defence.

"With great respect,

"Your most ob't. serv't.

"H. ATKINSON, *Brigadier*

"*General of the U. S. Army.*"

His Excellency, Gov. REYNOLDS, Bell[e]ville, Ill.

I will next give the reader Governor Reynolds's Proclamation to the militia of Illinois, and his concluding remarks; and of the necessity of those that were able to bear arms, turning out in defence of their country's rights.

"To the Militia of the North-western section of Illinois:

"FELLOW CITIZENS: Your country requires your services. The Indians have assumed a hostile attitude, and have invaded the State, in violation of the treaty of last summer.

"The British band of Sacs, and other hostile Indians, headed by the Black Hawk, are in possession of the Rock river country, to the great terror of the frontier inhabitants.

"I consider the settlers on the frontiers in imminent danger. I am in possession of the above information from gentlemen of respectable standing, and from Gen. Atkinson, whose character stands so high in all classes.

"In possession of the foregoing facts and information, I hesitate not as to the course I should pursue. No citizen ought to remain quiet when his country is invaded, and the helpless part of the community is in danger. I have called out a strong detachment of militia, to rendezvous at Beardstown, on the 22d instant; provision for the men, and corn for the horses will be furnished in abundance. I hope my

countrymen will realize my expectations, and offer their services, as heretofore, with promptitude and cheerfulness, in defence of their country.

“JOHN REYNOLDS,

“Commander in Chief.”

I will next refer the reader to a visit made to the hostile Indians by Henry Gratiot, Esq.

On the 16th day of April, Mr. Gratiot, Indian Agent for the Rock river band of Winnebagoes, received a letter from Gen. Atkinson, informing him of the movements of Black Hawk's band of hostile Indians, and requesting him, if possible, to ascertain the disposition of them. On the receipt of this information, Mr. Gratiot proceeded down Rock river, and on the 19th arrived at the Turtle Village¹¹ of Winnebagoes—found them at the exercise of their religious ceremonies, and consequently could not have a hearing with them until the 22d. He then held a talk with them, and learned from them that the Sacs had, at three different times, sent them the wampum, and that the last was painted red, thereby indicating war.¹² The last wampum was not returned. They also informed Mr. Gratiot, that it was their determination not to join the hostile Sacs—that there were some Winnebagoes living at the Prophet's Village who were friendly to the whites—and that they requested them to leave it and come to their village to reside until all the difficulties were settled.

In order to accomplish this object, Mr. Gratiot took twenty four men of the Turtle Village to accompany him to the Prophet's Town, at which place they arrived on the 25th, and hoisted his flag of truce. He was received with much attention by the Winnebagoes, who made him a large lodge, eighty feet long, for himself and their visiting brethren. In this village

he found between two and three hundred men, women and children, belonging to the Prophet's band. These Indians manifested no hostile disposition, but severally remonstrated against the conduct of the Prophet, who was at that time with the hostile band of Sacs, a few miles below, leading them on to his village. Mr. Gratiot advised these Indians to go up Rock river on their own lands, and make a village, where they might rest in peace. This they promised to do.

On the 26th, Mr. Gratiot saw at a distance, about two miles down Rock river, the army of the celebrated Black Hawk, consisting of about five hundred Sacs, well armed, and mounted on fine horses, moving in a line of battle.—Their appearance was terrible in the extreme.¹⁹ Their bodies were painted with white clay, with an occasional impression of their hands about their bodies, colored black. Around their ankles and bodies they wore wreaths of straw, which always indicate a disposition for blood. They moved on with great regularity, performing many evolutions; wheeling every few minutes, and firing towards Fort Armstrong; turning, flanking, and then forming into solid columns, from which they would form their line of march. In that way they marched to the beating of a drum till they came to the village.

They marched up to Gratiot's lodge, where was flying the neutral flag; formed a circle around it; took down his flag, and tauntingly hoisted the British colors in its place. They then fired into the air toward his lodge, sounded the war-whoop around it, and made several motions toward attacking Mr. Gratiot and the friendly Winnebagoes. They afterward dismounted, entered his lodge, shook hands with Mr. Gratiot and Mr. Cubbage, a gentleman who accompanied him. They then formed a circle within his lodge, holding their spears and other implements of war, and evincing,



by their actions and countenances, an unfriendly feeling. After holding a consultation among themselves, a friendly Winnebago Chief, ("White Crow,") who went with Mr. Gratiot from the Turtle Village, arose, went to his blanket, took out two plugs of tobacco, and gave them to the war-chief of the hostile band; after which the war party left the lodge leaving only Black Hawk.

This Chief¹⁴ (Black Hawk) then told Mr. Gratiot that he had received a letter from General Atkinson, but refused to let him read it at the time, but said that he would show it to him when he got to the end of his march, which was about sixty miles above. Mr. Gratiot replied, that he was not going that way; but he was answered by Black Hawk, that he would let him know about it on the next day. So it appeared that Mr. Gratiot was then considered their prisoner of war;¹⁵ which the development of other facts that afterwards occurred, conclusively proved. Black Hawk shortly afterwards left Mr. Gratiot, under a promise to visit him again the next morning.

The hostile band were all night engaged in holding a council among themselves. On the following morning, the Prophet, at the head of about forty warriors, came into Mr. Gratiot's lodge, presented General Atkinson's letter, and told him, he might take the letter back to General Atkinson. Mr. Gratiot insisted on reading the letter to them; upon which request, Black Hawk and Na-a-pope¹⁶ were sent for, and the letter read. The substance of which was, to advise the hostile Chiefs to desist from their evil designs—recross the Mississippi river, settle down in peace, and plant their corn, &c. In reply to which, they requested Mr. Gratiot to hand back the letter, and inform General Atkinson, that their hearts were bad,¹⁷ and that they would not return; but to the contrary, that if he brought his troops among them

they would fight them. Mr. Gratiot immediately went to Rock Island and delivered the message.

Thus, reader, these documents go to show the great necessity that Governor Reynolds had, for making the call for mounted volunteers, to defend the rights of our country, and drive from our State those merciless savages, that wished to imbrue their hands in the blood of its citizens.

Agreeably to his proclamation, the citizens of Illinois, quit their peaceful fire-sides and homes, and volunteered to defend our dear and sacred rights, which had been purchased for us by our ancestors, at the price of much blood. There was a sufficient number turned out without drafting; the people at once saw the great danger our frontier was in; and their patriotic feelings would not suffer them to stay at home, when they knew their services were wanted in the field. Accordingly, at the appointed time, the mounted volunteers from the different counties, that were called upon, rendezvoused at Beardstown, on the Illinois river, where we were met by Gov. Reynolds.

Upon our being organized into a Brigade, Governor Reynolds appointed Brigadier General Samuel White-side commander of the Brigade, who, for his courage and bravery, as an officer in the last war with Great Britain, stood pre-eminent.—He at that time had the command of a company of rangers, and was by all acknowledged to be an excellent Indian fighter.

The Brigade consisted of about sixteen hundred horsemen and two hundred footmen, who were organized into four regiments, and an odd spy battalion.

Colonel Dewit[t],¹⁸ commanded the first regiment; Colonel Fry,¹⁹ the second; Colonel Thomas,²⁰ (of St. Clair,) the third; and Colonel Thompson, the fourth. Colonel James D. Henry, of Sangamon county, commanded the spy battalion.

BRIGADIER-GENERAL SAMUEL WHITESIDE



On the twenty-seventh day of April, the troops got in motion, and took up the line of march, under the command of General Whiteside, accompanied by Governor Reynolds, the Commander-in-chief. After crossing the Illinois river, we directed our course to the Yellow Banks,²¹ on the Mississippi river, at which place, we arrived on the third day of May. Nothing very interesting occurred on our march to the Yellow Banks.

In crossing Henderson's river, we lost several head of horses, the river being very high, and not having any ferry boat to cross in; but very fortunately the men all got over safe. We had to take the point of the Yellow Banks, in order to draw provision, as a steam boat with supplies was to meet us there. It is worthy of remark, that when we got to this place, we found the citizens quietly remaining at their homes, and not in the least alarmed.

The next day after we arrived at this place, the old principal Chief (Ke-o-kuck,) crossed the river, with fifty or sixty of his warriors, and a few Squaws, to our encampment,—held a war dance, and stated, that it was not their intention to raise arms against the United States, — at the same time signifying a willingness to assist in fighting the Black Hawk.

On the third day after our arrival at the Yellow Banks, the steam boat arrived with a sufficient supply of provision, which enabled us to take the line of march for Rock river, at which place we arrived on the following day (the seventh.) On the [May 8th] we were mustered into the service of the United States by Brigadier General Atkinson.²²

On the evening after having been received by General Atkinson, Colonel John Ewing and myself were sent by Governor Reynolds as secret spies, with directions to keep in front of the army; he also sent a gentleman by the name of Kinney with us as a pilot.

Our instructions were, to proceed as near the direction as we could, according to our judgment, form, of the course Black Hawk and his army had taken; and if possible, for us to ascertain where the encampment of the enemy was. According to our instructions, we proceeded up Rock river, as near the direction that Black Hawk had taken, as our pilot judged to be the course. On the second day after we started, we discovered several signs of Indians, who appeared to be going different directions, which led us to suppose, that they were sent by Black Hawk to ascertain whether or not we were following them.

On that night, we encamped in sight of the old Prophet's Village;²³ next morning we went through the Town, and saw where Black Hawk had encamped with his whole army. His encampment was laid off in a manner showing great skill in warfare. No American General could have laid it out in a more military style; from the appearance of the encampment, we were induced to believe that they remained there a week; from which place we proceeded, confining ourselves to Rock river, which we were going up. We had not proceeded more than five miles from this place, before we discovered two Indians coming in the direction to meet us. Col. Ewing and myself made up to them in great haste; on our meeting them, we demanded of them to know their business there; on their not being able to understand us, we directed Mr. Kinney to enquire of them what they were doing there? Their answer was, that they had lost their horses, and were hunting them; that they belonged to Ke-o-kuck's band. We directed the interpreter to ask them, if they knew where Black Hawk was? They signified that they did not know, and appeared to be much alarmed. I observed in the course of the conversation, that we ought to take them as prisoners — to which Col. Ewing

made no reply, but appeared to be reflecting on the course to take, until they started and had got a short distance from us; he then came to the conclusion to take them; we immediately gave chase, they had four horses that appeared to be fresh and good, on account of which they gained distance on us, shaping their course for the river. During the chase, we discovered another Indian on our left, after consulting for a moment, we concluded to endeavor to take him prisoner; accordingly we all pursued him, until we came up with him; he told us he was a Pottawattomie; he had two horses; we directed Mr. Kinney to take his gun; he appeared unwilling to surrender it, and showed a disposition to shoot him. Upon which Colonel Ewing drew his rifle to his face, to make ready to fire on him, if he did not give it up: upon which he gave it to Mr. Kinney. We directed Mr. Kinney to mount his horse, and take the rope that was around the neck of the Indian's horse, and lead him; the Indian made signs to us, that there were some of his people close by, and wished to see them, and then he would go with us; to which proposition, we had no desire to accede, but forced him on. We travelled at a rapid rate. As we were in the midst of Indians, we concluded that it was our better policy, to make our way back to the camp as quick as possible. We at this time had been three days from the army, and could not know what distance we had separated ourselves from it. We calculated that we would not be able to reach it until the following day; but we were very agreeably disappointed, as we met the army after going about ten miles; it had taken the line of march the next day after we left it, and marched a much nigher way than our pilot took us. We delivered up our prisoner, who underwent an examination through an interpreter better acquainted with the Indian

language than Mr. Kinney ; he was found to be a Potawattomie,—and stated that Black Hawk with his army was at the Pawpaw Grove,²⁴ two days' march up the river. We were now close to the old Prophet's Town, where General Atkinson had ordered General Whiteside to await the arrival of his boats and regulars, (as that was the way General Atkinson, with his regulars, and two hundred foot volunteers were marching;) unless General Whiteside, thought upon his arrival at the Prophet's Village,²⁵ it would be actually necessary to pursue, in order to prevent the Indians from making their escape ; accordingly General Whiteside ordered a forced march that evening. The country we had to pass through was an almost continual swamp, — no alternative being left for us, we put our horses to it, sometimes wading ourselves up to our waist, and not unfrequently getting mired ; but by great exertions and perseverance, we succeeded in getting through without losing any men in the swamps. — We this day marched until dark — a number of the men did not get up until late in the night, and some of the baggage waggons not until next morning. This day (May 12th) we got to Dixon's ferry,²⁶ on Rock river, where the great road²⁷ crosses going to the Lead Mines.

CHAPTER III.

Meet Maj. Stillman with a battalion from the northern counties — Major Stillman takes his battalion, goes up Rock river, in order to ascertain the movements of the enemy — Falls in with them — has a battle, and is defeated — Retreats back to General Whiteside — Colonel Ewing, Robert Blackwell, Esq. and the Author sent as expresses for more troops — General Whiteside marches his Brigade to the battle ground — They bury the dead — Return back to Dixon's — Meet General Atkinson there with provision, five hundred regulars and two hundred foot militia — They take up the line of march after the enemy — March to Fox river — The Indians kill three families before they get there — They bury the persons killed — Army become dissatisfied, and are discharged — Three hundred volunteer to guard the frontier until the new levy of troops arrive.

ON our arrival here (Dixon's Ferry) we found Major Stillman with a battalion of two hundred and seventy-five men awaiting our arrival: they had been there two days with a sufficient supply of ammunition and provisions; our provisions at this time being nearly exhausted.

Major Stillman considered that he had a kind of independent corps, and did not wish to be attached to General Whiteside's Brigade. He, the Major, on the next morning made a request of the Governor, that he might be permitted to take his corps, go out as a scouting party, and see if possible whether any discoveries could be made as to the situation of the enemy.

Accordingly, on the 12th day of May, Major Stillman and Major Bailey²⁸ received orders from the

Commander in Chief, to march with their respective battalions to the neighborhood of Old Man's Creek,²⁹ to ascertain, if possible, the movements of the enemy. On the morning of the 13th, Major Stillman's battalion took up their line of march. Major Bailey followed in a short time after; and after having marched eight or ten miles, both battalions encamped. The day had been rainy, and other circumstances beyond the control of officers or men, had a tendency to retard their movements.

The battalions had no connection with each other whatever, previous to their meeting on their march to Dixon's, on Rock river. There they received orders to march, before they were organized into a regiment—each battalion being independent of the other—commanded by its own officers—and three of those claiming the command of both—and perhaps with equal justice.

In the result, however, the command for that expedition was conferred on Major Stillman, the choice of officers to be referred to the men on their return.

On the morning of the 14th, under the temporary organization of the corps, the march was continued in the line, secured by strong advance and flank guards. On this day's march several fresh trails were discovered during the forenoon; and at 12 o'clock the commanding officer, was informed, that several Indian dogs had been seen by one of the flank guards, and shortly afterwards two Indians were seen.

With some difficulty occasioned by the almost impassable mires of the creeks which the corps had to cross, the march was continued until nearly sunset, when Col. Strode³⁰ of the advanced guard, who had volunteered his services on this occasion, returned to the battalion with information of a suitable place for encampment, and conducted the corps to the point.

A large fresh trail was discovered, which directed its course to a point of timber, a short distance to the left of the encampment. Shortly after the battalion halted, and while busily engaged in preparing supper, several horsemen were discovered on a hill about half a mile in front. They were at first sight taken for a part of the enemy's advance guard. Some of the men mounted their horses, and rode toward them. They were discovered to be Indians, and two of them came to the camp, professing to be Pottawattomies and friends, but on the approach of our advance the Indians gave a whoop, unfurled a red flag and fell back at full speed. —Our horsemen followed, and after a chase of four miles and a half, overtook them in a low marshy piece of ground, where a sharp firing took place. Three Indians were left dead, and several were dismounted; one of our men was wounded in a personal combat, and two were dismounted and lost their horses.

The Indians were driven into their encampment, where they rallied to the number of six or eight hundred, and cautiously awaited the approach of our main body. Our advance fell back, and joined the battalion on the margin of the low ground, where the firing first commenced.

An Indian approached and proposed a "talk" to an officer who was in advance. Major Stillman, with the field and staff officers together with Capt. Eads,³¹ as an interpreter, went forward while the troops were advancing by heads of companies through the marsh. Capt. Eads, who had been in front, suddenly wheeled and exclaimed that the line of Indians extended for more than a mile.

Major Stillman now discovered that the proposed "talk" was an expedient to obtain time, the more completely to execute their plan; for the enemy were now seen flanking him right and left in great numbers.

He immediately gave orders to countermarch and form on the high ground. But instead of countermarching, the men wheeled about in their places, which threw the officers all in the rear, and fell back. The foremost of them on reaching the hard ground first, were able to proceed with much greater rapidity than those who were yet in the swamp, and by the time the officers reached the solid ground the front was out of hearing. The order to halt and form was only heard by a part of each company, who immediately formed. But the enemy knew all the passes, and had already opened a heavy fire on both flanks, which was returned with spirit by those who had formed.

It was now found necessary to retire to prevent the enemy from entirely surrounding our men, which had now become practicable. The retreat was then kept up with occasional halting and firing, until our men reached the camp. There an attempt was made to maintain our ground. Capt. Barnes³² had nearly succeeded in forming his company, when orders were given to cross the creek in rear of the camp. This order was effected by sixty or seventy men, but not before the enemy had got possession of the camp. The enemy then set up a tremendous yell, which was returned by a volley of musquetry from those who had formed in the rear of the camp, — this silenced the war-whoop in that quarter, but in a moment more two large parties of the enemy, who had crossed the creek above and below, attacked both flanks and the rear. The line was broken, and each man took his own course. One party broke off to the right where fell some of those who had formed at the creek. Another party took off to the left, where others fell, the flanking parties of the enemy pursuing them. Those of the men who took the middle course, escaped with the loss of two killed, and one wounded.

The enemy kept up the pursuit for twelve or fourteen miles. The men arrived at Dixon's ferry in detached squads, from one o'clock A. M. until the roll call at sunrise, when it was found that fifty-two were missing: these continued to arrive for the two succeeding days, until the number missing was reduced to eleven, which were afterward found most shockingly mangled.

Capt. Adams evinced the most undaunted bravery; he vehemently urged the men to maintain the ground. But the line was broken and he himself was slain.

Several personal rencounters took place. In one of them Joseph Farris and his brother David, were attacked and surrounded. David was mounted, and Joseph whose horse failed or was killed, urged him to save himself; but this he refused, until he saw him fall, fighting, and himself struck from his horse by a blow from the breech of a gun. He returned the blow which stiffened the savage on the ground, and then broke for a point of timber; he was nearly overtaken, when he called for assistance from the timber, which led the pursuers to fear that a force was then awaiting their approach. It was this presence of mind which saved his life; for the enemy immediately wheeled and retreated.

Mr. Samuel Hackelton had pursued an uniformed Indian, until he had outstripped his comrades, and had discharged his gun with effect, upon one who was dismounted immediately before him. When in the act of reloading, he saw a horseman pass, by the name of Maxfield, who discharged his piece, tumbled an Indian from his pony, and kept on without reloading. He entered the marsh where it was with difficulty that his horse could proceed—an Indian charged upon him. Hackelton seeing this, flew to his relief, and by a blow from his gun parried the spear, just as it

was on the point of entering his (Maxfield's) back. The red warrior wheeled to plunge the spear into the breast of Hackelton, which he avoided by springing from his horse, who passed from between him and his antagonist, when he again met the spear by darting at his enemy, which caused it to pass between his left arm and side, wounding his hand as he attempted to parry the blow. He then seized the spear, both held, eyeing each other for a moment, when the Indian being in the act of seizing his tomahawk, Hackelton grasped him by the throat and belt (the blanket being thrown from the Indian's shoulder) and now a deadly struggle ensued. The Indian was large and muscular, but after a severe struggle, fell before his more active foe, and broke his hold to regain his feet. Hackelton improved the movement to draw his steel, which he plunged into the breast of the savage,—and again they fell locked in deadly embrace. Maxfield, whose horse had taken fright at the yell of the Indian, ran for a considerable distance, nearly throwing his rider, readily returned to repay that service which had so generously and timely been rendered him, and with his bayonet pinned the bleeding savage to the ground.

Hackelton having lost his horse, it was with much difficulty that he halted a horseman to take him from the ground; indeed he rode with him but a few rods, whilst in leaping a pool or branch, the horse fell, and Hackelton, who was wounded in both hands, was thrown into the water;—and there the horseman left him to shift for himself. He effected his escape by running two or three miles, when he was relieved by Doctor Donaldson, who generously lent him his horse, whilst he went on foot, for the distance of two miles further, where Hackelton succeeded in getting a pony, on which he arrived in camp without further injury.

Major Stillman was unfortunate in this action; he

lost some of his most choice men. Captain Adams, who commanded a company from Tazewell county; Major Isaac Perkins;³³ John Walters; Cyrus Childs;³⁴ Joseph Farris; Bird Ellis and James Doty, were among the slain in this battle. There were four others, but I have not got in possession of their names. They were all respectable men.

When this squadron of men got into camp, or part of them, for they came in by twos, threes and fours, and so on, all night, each company thought the rest were all killed, and reported it as being the case.

We were all immediately to our arms, not knowing but that Black Hawk and all his band were in close pursuit.

Things were represented in their worst colors. Some of the men seemed to think that there were at least two thousand Indians. Others thought there were not more than one thousand, and none would fall below five hundred; but scarcely any two of them could agree upon any one statement.³⁵

It was a complete rout, and of course each one had to shift for himself; and it was natural for them to have different views when they were in such frightful condition. Next morning, at roll call, there were fifty-two men missing. It was then thought there was no doubt but they had all been slain in the action; but to the great joy of the friends of the missing, they all got in, in the course of three days, to some settlement or other, except the eleven already mentioned. It appears that they were so much alarmed, that they took different directions, and some went a contrary direction from the army. A number of them, it is said, came very near starving with hunger before they got to any settlement.

Gen. Whiteside, when the news of the defeat reached camp, made preparations to march with the

main army as soon as it was light; accordingly there were two men sent from each company to bring in our horses. The Governor immediately went to making out despatches for more troops, so soon as it was light. Gen. Whiteside had a few beeves killed to take along, with some other meat; but bread was out of the question, as we had then been without this necessary article for two days.³⁶

About seven o'clock on the 15th of May, Gen. Whiteside took up the line of march at the head of about fourteen hundred effective men to the late battle ground.

Here I have to leave the main army for a while. Col. John Ewing, Robert Blackwell, Esq., and myself, were sent as express bearers for more troops, and the Rev. Mr. Horn,³⁷ (who was Chaplain to the army,) to St. Louis for a supply of provisions. Col. Ewing was sent to the counties bordering on the Ohio river; Esq. Blackwell to the counties on the Wabash, on the east side of the State; and the writer to the southern counties bordering on the Kaskaskia river.

The Governor made a call for two thousand more troops, besides those already in the field. His order was for them to rendezvous at Beardstown and Hennepin, both on the Illinois river—those at Beardstown to meet on the 3d of June, and those at Hennepin on the 10th. The volunteers from the counties I went to, were to meet at Beardstown; and those from the counties to which Messrs. Ewing and Blackwell went, at Hennepin. We started on the 15th of May, and rode with all the celerity we possibly could. When our horses gave out we pressed others. I arrived at Kaskaskia on the 22d, a distance of about three hundred and forty miles, in seven days. We well knew the danger our frontier settlements were in. Many of our fellow citizens had been slain in battle, who were

in the field for the defence of our country; and our unsuspecting frontier was then exposed to the ruthless tomahawk and scalping knife of those demons in human shape. We knew their mode of warfare was to steal upon the fearful settler, in the shades and stillness of night, and there imbrue their hands in human blood, paying no attention to age or sex. So no obstacle stopped us on our way.

I must here relate a small anecdote, which occurred between a good old woman and myself. On the night of the 31st of May I staid at Covington. I think I never heard such a night's rain in all my life. The next morning, Esq. Bradsby, the gentleman with whom I staid all night, informed me that I would have several creeks to swim on the way from thence to Kaskaskia, and it still continued raining. I replied that I would try it at all events. I had not travelled more than four miles before I found his words verified; but to my great satisfaction, I found that the horse I rode was an excellent swimmer—so I stopped for none of the creeks. The weather being very cold for the time of year, I called at a house to empty the water out of my shoes, and to wring my socks. An elderly looking lady, seeing me wet all over, and hearing me say I had swam all the creeks between that place and Covington, and that I had come from there that morning, looked on me (as I thought,) with an eye of suspicion, and immediately began to make some inquiries about my embassy, that I should not have relished quite so well had they come from any other source, than a good old simple woman. I soon found that she was not to be put off, but must have the whole history of my business,—and what it was that made me swim the creeks. So that while I was trying to get some of the water out of my socks, I informed her that I was the bearer of an express for more men to go against the Indians;

this roused the good old dame's curiosity to the highest pitch. I then gave her the particulars in as brief a manner as I could. When I was done, she asked, if I did not get a great bounty for my services? "Yes," I replied, "I do."—She then wanted to know how much? I replied "the honor of serving my country." Says she "my friend, I think you are in poor business, and if that is all you get I think you had best go back home." But I did not take the old lady's advice. I got to Kaskaskia that night. The people had got the news by way of steamboat that was at St. Louis when the Rev. Mr. Horn arrived there (there) after provision.

Colonel Stephens, commandant in Randolph county, despatched Mr. Briggs (who afterwards became Captain Briggs) at 9 o'clock in the evening, with orders for the men to meet on the 24th, and volunteer to the number of one hundred from this county, and that if they were not enough that would volunteer, he would be obliged to cause a draft to be made. But it was here as it was in every other part of the State, there were plenty of men who saw that their country needed their services; and they very willingly forsook their homes, wives and children, and turned out to defend the rights of their brethren and fellow citizens that were threatened to be trampled on by the merciless savages.

I here must return to General Whiteside and the volunteers, that marched on the morning of the 15th to the battle ground to bury the dead that had been slain in battle; they got there that evening, found the bodies of eleven of our citizens scalped and mangled in the most barbarous manner—the heads of some were cut off, and others with their hearts cut out, legs and arms generally cut off. General Whiteside had their remains consigned to their mother earth in as decent

a manner as could be expected in a wilderness country. The next day General Whiteside had to return with the army back to Dixon's on Rock river, on account of his scarcity of provisions, where General Atkinson met them with a supply.

On Saturday the 19th, the army, amounting to about twenty-four hundred men, regulars and militia, started up Rock river, in pursuit of the Indians. But owing to a variety of causes, which I am not able to lay before the public, the army became dissatisfied, and wished to be discharged from the service,—so nothing was effected on this campaign.³⁸—The general cry with the men was, that they wished to return home. This was too at a time when their services were most needed, for the war now had begun in all its horrid shape.

Immediately after Stillman's defeat, the Indians commenced their well known practice of warfare. They went about the 20th of May to the houses of Messrs. Hall, Daviess and Pennigrew,³⁹ and there killed fifteen men, women and children, and scalped them all. But even this was not enough to satisfy those blood thirsty demons; they mutilated them in the most inhuman and indecent manner that ever was witnessed. It is enough to make the blood chill in a person's veins, to think how those merciless hell hounds served those that were not in the slightest degree able to help themselves. After every indecency that could be practised on their persons, the women were hung up by their feet. The helpless children literally chopped to pieces. The houses were burned, the furniture all destroyed, the stock killed, even the barn-yard fowls.—The work of destruction and devastation had now begun, the blood of helpless women and children had been spilt.

Two young and beautiful women were taken prisoners by these monsters in human shape—for it appeared that all the bodies of the missing were found, except

these two young women, who were the daughters of the unfortunate family of Hall, who, with his wife and children, had become an easy prey to these barbarians, save two boys who were in the field at work.

Mr. Hall and Mr. Daviess both had large families. Mr. Pennigrew, his companion, and children, shared the same fate.

This threw the country into the most perfect state of alarm and dismay. This horrid act was done on Indian Creek, which empties into Fox river. The families lived about fifteen miles north of Ottawa.

Gen. Whiteside and his brigade witnessed this horrid sight soon after it was perpetrated, and helped to consign them to their mother earth,⁴⁰ which is the last duty that we can pay to human beings in this world. Still, his brigade cried out, "Our term of service is nearly expired, and we wish to be discharged."

Accordingly, Gov. Reynolds, on the 27th and 28th, discharged all the volunteers that were then in the field, at Ottawa, within fifteen miles of the place where the Indians had just slain fifteen of our citizens, and treated them in the manner already described. This was enough to rend the hearts of the neighborhood in this part of the frontier; but the hearts of a few could not think of leaving so many valuable citizens to perish by the scalping knife and tomahawk. They turned out a second time to guard the frontier, until the new levy of troops could arrive to their protection. I am sorry that I could not with propriety give you the names of all those who volunteered a second time; but it is due to those who did so, to say it was the love of country alone that influenced them to do so.

Gen. Samuel Whiteside was one who saw that his country still needed his services. He here was not above shouldering his rifle, and stepping into the ranks to defend this beautiful country, where there had just

perished some of its choice citizens by those merciless savages. The brave and patriotic Henry [.] Fry,⁴¹ Snyder, James of Bond county, and many others whom I cannot mention, were influenced by the same feeling. They at once saw that the devastating hand of the savage had begun the works of death and destruction in this region of the country, and well knew that if those frontiers were not guarded, its helpless citizens would become an easy prey to those demons that know no bounds to their cruelty. The smoke of the cabins of those that were slain, was scarcely out of sight, and to leave those that were still living to share the same fate, was more than they could think of doing.

Accordingly, this little band of patriots was formed into a regiment, under the command of our noble Fry, who never has disgraced his country, nor himself as a commander. Our much beloved James D. Henry was elected Lieut. Colonel, and Mr. John Thomas, Major. There were six companies composing this regiment. The following named gentlemen were the officers and staff. The Captains I will set down agreeably to their rank.

A. W. Snyder; McFadden; Smith; Benjamin James; Elijah Iles; and James Rolls,⁴² were the six Captains of this Regiment. The Lieutenants were as follows: James [Jesse] M. Harrison, 1st, and Henry Roberts, 2d Lieutenant in Capt. Iles's company; Calvert Roberts, 1st Lieutenant in Capt. James's company; James Scott, G. F. [Radford M.] Wyatt, W. Shirley, Jacob Waggoner, Oliver Bangs, and [W. F.] Walker. I cannot place the last Lieutenants to their proper places.

CHAPTER IV.

Capt. Snyder has a battle with the enemy—Arrives at Head Quarters, and he and his company are discharged—New levy of troops rendezvous at Beardstown and Hennepin—Fort Wilbourn (or Fort Horn) built—It becomes Head Quarters—The Volunteers organized into three Brigades—Attack on Apple River Fort—A party of Indians appear near Fort Hamilton, and kill two men—Gen. Dodge pursues; overtakes them; and kills the whole party—Capt. Stephenson falls in with another war party—Has an engagement—Loses three men, and himself wounded—Major Dement has a battle with the enemy—The three Brigades take different directions—Gen. Atkinson marches on Rock river with Gen. Henry's brigade—The three Brigades meet at lake Kushkanong; likewise a squadron under Gen. Dodge from Michigan Territory—They continue for several days scouring the country in search of the enemy—Move up to the burnt village on White Water—Col. Dunn wounded by a sentinel—A regular shot by an Indian while fishing—Gen. Atkinson moves down to lake Kushkanong, and builds a Fort—The second and third Brigades and Col. Dodge's squadron proceed to Fort Winnebago for provision—Gen. Posey sent to Fort Hamilton—Our horses take a fright at Fort Winnebago, and run away.

THIS band of patriots continued here and guarded the country, until the new levy of troops could arrive and be organized. And many of them still continued until the end of the last campaign.

It will be recollected that I stated in a preceding page that A. W. Snyder was elected Captain of one of the six companies, who volunteered a second time to defend the northern frontier. Capt. Snyder was

CAPTAIN ADAM W. SNYDER



constantly on the march with his men, between Galena, and Fox and Rock rivers, guarding the frontiers from being taken by surprise by the Indians, as it was well known that they were prowling about through the country, as they had done considerable mischief upon the northern frontier, and particularly in the mining country, and on the road leading from Fort Clark to Galena.

Capt. Snyder thought that it would be best to range between Galena and Rock and Fox rivers; as those settlements were so exposed as easily to become a prey to their barbarity, should they be suffered to make an attack upon them.

On the night of the 17th of June,⁴³ Captain Snyder and his company were encamped about thirty-five miles east of Galena, and not far distant from the Burr Oak grove. On that night his sentinels were fired upon by the Indians; but the cowardly wretches did not stand to fight. They fired and retreated immediately. Next morning Captain Snyder took his company and went in pursuit of them with all possible speed. He pursued them to their camp. But they first discovered his approach, and took to flight, but he was not to be dodged. It was now day, and he had the light of the sun to see how to trail in pursuit of them. His men were mounted on horseback; and the word was—"not to spare them." They were put to the whip and spur; and in a very short time Captain Snyder overtook them. But they sought refuge in a ditch, or hole in the ground to fight from, in order to sell their lives as dear as possible. As it appears there were but four of them, they in all probability were out as spies from the main body of Indians. After they took shelter in this hole, or gully, there was but a very slight prospect of killing, except by a charge upon them; so Captain Snyder surrounded the hole and

ordered his men to charge upon them,—which order was promptly obeyed. The Indians fired upon them as they charged, and wounded one man mortally. Col. Semple was one of the number who charged upon them in this dangerous place, and killed one with his pistol. They killed them all in this place of supposed security, except one, and him they killed within a few steps of it, after he had got out. The wounded man was by the name of Macomson. They now had to make a litter to carry him on, as it was impossible for him to ride; accordingly Capt. Snyder had one made, and eight men detailed to carry it; that being the only way they could take him along, for it was perceived that he could survive but a short time.

Captain Snyder thought that it would be best to take up the line of march toward the camp, where he had been stationed occasionally, at Kellogg's grove, in order that if Macomson died, he might have a chance to pay the last duty that man can pay to his fellow men upon earth;—or if there was any prospect of his recovery, that there might be no means left untried to save his life:—but this was not destined to be the case. They proceeded on until the men became very much fatigued, and thirsty for want of water; likewise they thought he was dying: so they stopt to see what would be his fate; also to search round, and if possible get some water, as they were by this time very thirsty, having been in the chase ever since it was clearly light. In their eagerness to obtain this indispensable article to sustain life, they scattered in different directions in search of it; not dreaming or apprehending the slightest danger of being taken by surprise. But in this they were mistaken. They were fired upon by about seventy or eighty Indians. Two gentlemen, one by the name of Scott, the other McDaniel,“ together with their horses, were killed the first fire, and a

gentleman by the name of Cornelius badly wounded. The men being surprised so suddenly, became very much alarmed, and some of them commenced a retreat. Captain Snyder perceiving it, ordered a halt and endeavoured to form them for action. Some of them so panic struck, were still for taking to flight. Capt. Snyder then requested General Samuel Whiteside, who was then in his company in the capacity of a private, to try and assist him, to bring the men to a stand. Gen. Whiteside then cried aloud that he would shoot the first man that attempted to retreat. They then formed, and the battle became warm on both sides, which lasted a considerable time, both the Indians and our men taking the advantage of trees.

General Whiteside being an excellent marksman, took a cool and deliberate aim at the Indian Commander, who had been yelling and hallooing all the time of the action. As soon as his gun fired, the Indian was heard no more; and his horse was immediately seen without the rider. The Indians now began to retreat, which told us plainly that General Whiteside had killed their commander. The panic had still fast hold of a part of our company. They refused to pursue them further. Captain Snyder, General Whiteside and Colonel Semple, with some others endeavored to persuade the men to pursue them, but it was impossible to get a part of them to consent; they peremptorily refused. When Captain Snyder perceived that it was impossible to effect anything with a part of his small band; he ordered a march back to their camp. They did not march far before they met Major Riley, with a detachment of regulars.

After a consultation between Riley and Snyder, they came to the conclusion that it was then too late to follow the Indians that night. They all then returned to their encampment and abandoned the idea of further pursuit.

They did not know but that Black Hawk and his whole army were close by, and if so small a band would fall in with them, they might fall an easy prey to their vengeance, for at that time it would have been almost impossible to have made good their retreat, for they had then been about sixty days almost constantly on the march, and their horses a greater part of them without corn, or any food except grass. This was a prudent step.

Captain Snyder immediately marched his men to head quarters, which was Fort Wilbourn, where the new levy of troops had all assembled, and had been organized into three Brigades; under officers hereafter to be mentioned.

Captain Snyder made a report of his battle to General Atkinson, and having been much worn out by fatigue, and this his second term of service having expired, he and his company were discharged, and they all retired once more to their respective homes to embrace their wives and children, and enjoy the happiness of sitting by their own firesides, without the fear of being disturbed by the shrieks and yell of the savage; and those who had fought, no doubt, felt happy that they had borne a part of the hardships of war, in defence of their country's rights. But men who will not fight in such a cause, hardly can be said to have good and noble feelings. All honorable men are generally brave,—but a dishonorable man has nothing to stimulate him to be brave.

I am in possession of the names of some of those who did not do their duty in this battle,—but I will forbear mentioning any of their names; for it may be that they may have respectable fathers and mothers, or wives and children, that might be seriously injured by the exposure. So I will forbear saying anything that would tend to injure the feelings of an honorable and

dutiful son, or cause a pang to reach the heart of an affectionate wife, father or mother. But it never is wrong, or does any harm to eulogize those who act honorably and brave. There were some such spirits, by all accounts, who acted that part in this little band, that were engaged in the battle, of which I have just been informing the reader about. Amongst them were General Samuel Whiteside, Colonel Semple and Captain Snyder himself. It is stated by all that they acted with bravery and fearlessness; and some others that I am not able to name at this time.

The number of Indians that were killed in this engagement could not be ascertained. As their number was so far superior to that of the company of Captain Snyder, it was thought expedient to desist, and not stay to hunt them up. But from every account we could get, there were a number, besides their commander that I have already mentioned. The men on our part that were killed, were choice citizens, and all had families, but one. The man who was wounded in the first skirmish had to share the same fate of the rest who were killed. It was out of the power of men or officers to save him from becoming a prey to their vengeance.

I shall have to dismiss this campaign for the present, and take up the second levy of troops.

Those counties, that I as an express bearer was sent to, to raise more troops, were ordered to have them ready for marching in due time so as to be at Beards-town, the place of rendezvous, on the third day of June. Accordingly in compliance with said order, the following companies rendezvoused at that place, viz: From Clinton county, a company of the number of sixty-eight, commanded by Captain A. Bankson;—from Washington county, a company containing fifty-three, commanded by Captain Burnes;—from

Randolph, two companies, containing each fifty men, commanded by Captains Feaman and Briggs. The companies after their arrival, organized themselves into a squadron, and for their officers elected Theophilus W. Smith, of the county of Madison, their Lieutenant Colonel; and Sidney Breese, of the county of Randolph, Major.⁴⁶

On the fifth day of June, the commandant (Col. Smith,) appointed the following persons to form his staff, viz: John Omelvany, Adjutant; Benjamin Bond, Paymaster; William H. Terrell, Surgeon; J. B. Logan,⁴⁸ Surgeon's mate; C. V. Halstead, Quarter Master; John Hawthorn, Hospital Steward.

Colonel Smith after procuring provision, and waggons to transport them, took up a line of march (6th May,) for General Atkinson's head quarters at Fort Wilbourn — a small fort erected by Rev. Mr. Horn,⁴⁷ as a place to secure provision he had procured at St. Louis; — at which place the troops from the different parts of the State assembled, also some from the State of Indiana. Although General Atkinson could not receive them on account of there having been a sufficient number from our own State, and the scarcity of provision. Yet she certainly deserves great applause for her patriotism in sending to our assistance.

Here all the volunteers were organized into three Brigades, which being the 15th May. Doctor Alexander Posey was elected Brigadier General, of the first Brigade; Willis Hargrave, Colonel, of the first regiment; William J. Gatewood, Lieutenant Colonel; and James Hampton, [Huston] Major; all from the county of Gallatin: Colonel John Ewing, from Franklin county, was elected Colonel, of the second regiment; — Storm, Lieut. Colonel; and Johnson Wren, Major; the third regiment under the command of Colonel Samuel Leach; Lieutenant, Col. Campbell; and Major

[Joseph] Shelton. John Dement⁴⁸ of Vandalia was elected to the command of the spy battalion.

General Posey appointed Major Alexander P. Hall and B. A. Clark as his Aids-de-camp, and Major [John] Raum, Brigade Inspector.

The second Brigade from the eastern side of the State commanded by Brigadier General M. K. Alexander; Major Wm. B. Archer, was appointed by the General his Aid-de-camp; and Major Sheledy, Brigade Inspector. It also consisted of three regiments, and a battalion of spies. The first regiment under the command of Colonel J. M. Blackburn; Lieutenant Colonel, Wm. Wyatt; and Major Jas. S. Jones. The second under the command of Colonel Samuel Adams; Lieutenant Colonel J. W. Barlow; and Major George Bowers. The third under the command of Colonel Moses [Hosea] Pierce; Lieutenant Colonel C. Jones; Major William Eubanks. The battalion of spies under the command of Major William McHenry.

The third Brigade from the western side of the State commanded by Brigadier General James D. Henry; who appointed Major Alexander P. Field, his Aid-de-camp; Major Murray McConnel, Brigade Inspector. This brigade had four regiments and a spy battalion. The first regiment under command of Col. S. T. Mathews; Lieutenant Colonel James Gillham; and Major James Evans. The second, commanded by Colonel Jacob Fry; Lieutenant Colonel J. Smith; and Major Benjamin James. The third under command of Colonel Gabriel Jones; Lieutenant Colonel Theophilus W. Smith;⁴⁹ and Major Sidney Breese. The fourth under command of Colonel James Collins; Lieutenant Colonel P. H. Sharp; and Major William Miller. The battalion of spies under the command of Major W. L. D. Ewing.

The aggregate strength of the three Brigades being

about three thousand two hundred, besides three companies of Rangers⁵⁰ that were left to protect the settlements west of the Illinois river, and the public stores at such points as it was necessary to leave provisions. This force, with the volunteers from the mining country, together with the regulars, made about four thousand effective men.

About this time the Indians attacked a fort in the mining country, known by the name of Apple River Fort.⁵¹ In this attack the citizens suffered great loss by the Indians killing their stock and destroying property; which the following letter from Captain Flack will more fully show, as he was in the fort during the engagement. It is in the following words, to wit:

“*Mr. John A. Wakefield:*

“SIR: — In reply to your request, I proceed to give an account of the attack of the Indians on Apple River Fort. Apple River Fort is situated about fourteen miles east of Galena. It was on the 24th of June, when harmony and peace appeared to reign through the fort, the day before a waggon had been despatched to Galena for the purpose of bringing a supply of lead and meat, which had run short in the afternoon on Sunday, the waggon arrived with a supply of meat and lead. About the time the team was removed from the waggon, the ladies of the fort had assembled to go to the river to hunt goose-berries; after starting they discovered coming from towards Galena three men, and being anxious to hear the news from there, they concluded to wait, expecting to hear something about the Indians. When they arrived they proved to be men on an express from Galena going to Dixon’s ferry on Rock river; one of the men was a Mr. F. Dixon, the other two I have no recollection of their names. They were all intoxicated; after coming up they recollected that their guns were empty; one of the men dismounted and charged his piece, the other two would not; the man, after loading his gun, mounted his horse and they all rode off in full speed, whooping and hallooing towards Dixon’s ferry. When they had got to

the distance of about three hundred yards, the one that carried the loaded gun was some fifty or sixty yards ahead of the other two, when a large number of Indians, being in ambush; arose and fired upon him; when he fell from his horse, shot through the thigh; his horse fled and left him; he arose and fired at the Indians at about the distance of fifteen steps, but his fire took no effect as was ever ascertained. The Indians made towards him with their hatchets, when the other two coming up to his relief with their empty guns, they presented their guns, which caused the Indians to halt till the wounded man had got between them and the fort, they kept giving back with their guns presented till the wounded man gained the fort. The firing of the guns gave the alarm just in time for the people to make their retreat to the fort.

“Apple River Fort had once been an extensive smelting establishment, and had become a considerable village, the fort being small, families lived in these houses in day time, and every one had his own to himself, but at night all repaired to the fort for safety.

“The Indians pursued these men within firing distance of the fort, all on horseback, they rode up, dismounted and hitched their horses, and I think in about three minutes the fort was surrounded by about one hundred and fifty Indians, with all the savage ferocity and awful appearance, that those monsters could possibly appear in. The inhabitants had all reached the fort in time to defend themselves, which appeared to have been a providential thing, for if it had not been for the firing of the Indians on the express bearers, the fort would have certainly been taken, as the people would have been taken upon a surprise when they were not apprehending the least kind of danger from those savage barbarians.

“There was a very heavy fire kept up for the space of one hour on both sides. Early in the engagement a Mr. George Herclurode was shot in the neck, and never spoke afterwards, he being at a port hole trying to defend himself and the helpless inmates of the fort; a Mr. James Nuting was also shot at the same time in the head, but not mortally. There appeared to be no dismay in the fort.

“Such bravery and heroism amongst women has scarcely

ever been surpassed in any country. Women and children were all actively engaged in the defence of the fort. Girls eight years old were busily engaged in running balls and making cartridges, and women loading guns.

"The Indians got into those houses before spoken of, and knocked out the chinking and kept up their fire until they got discouraged. They then commenced plundering the houses, chopt, split and tore up a quantity of fine furniture. There was scarcely a man or woman that was left with a second suit of clothing. They went into my father's house; there was a large bureau full of fine clothes, they took six fine cloth coats and a number of fine ruffle shirts, with their tomahawks they split the drawers and took the contents. They ripped open the bedticks, emptied the feathers, took all the bedclothing, and broke all the delf in the cupboards. Some of the out houses were kept for the purpose of storing away provisions; they got into those houses where a number of flour barrels were stowed away; they would lie down on their faces and roll a barrel after them until they would get into a ravine, where they were out of danger; they then would empty the barrels of flour, after they had destroyed this necessary article, and when they found they could not succeed in taking the fort as they expected, they then commenced the warfare upon the stock; they killed all the cattle that were near the fort and took a number of fine horses to the number of about twenty, which were never got again by the owners. The horse that lost his rider in the first onset ran to the fort, which the Indians did not get.

"Mr. Dixon on his retreat never stopt at the fort, thinking from the large number of Indians the fort would be taken, he made for Galena, and not being acquainted with the country he missed his road, and went to the house of Mr. John McDonald, who had a very large farm, of which Apple river formed a part of the fence. When he got to the house he found a large number of Indians at that place, and in a few minutes found himself completely surrounded; he lit from his horse, let down a pair of draw-bars, and made his escape across the river to Galena. At the time the Indians commenced the fire upon the express bearers, the people of the

fort started an express to Galena for assistance, which never came until about eleven o'clock the next day. Colonel Strode who had the command at Galena, marched to their assistance with about one hundred men. But this little band of men, women and children, had bravely stood their ground and kept the field, in spite of the Black Hawk and his ferocious savage brothers, with all their frightful yells and war-whoops.

"But it was not without some suffering that this small handful did it. There was no water in the fort, and being taken upon a surprise, the people had not time to lay any in after the attack was first made upon the express bearers, and the weather being very warm, the men and women became so fatigued and exhausted in time of the engagement that they were compelled to drink dish water, to quench their thirst.

"This fort was commanded by Captain Stone, and there were twenty-five men besides women and children. This small force stood their ground before the great and mighty chief called Black Hawk, and upwards of one hundred and fifty of those hideous monsters, that take so much delight in their savage warfare; as it was afterwards ascertained that Black Hawk commanded in person at this engagement.

"It was supposed that the Indians lost several of their number in this skirmish, as they were seen putting several Indians on their horses and packing them off during the engagement, and after it was over there was a quantity of blood discovered on the ground.

"The Indians in killing the cattle would skin and take out of a beef such pieces as they seemed to like best, leaving the balance on the ground.

"Apple River Fort is about sixteen miles from Kellogg's Grove, and it is believed by all that this was the war party of Indians that attacked Major Dement's spy batallion on the next day at this grove.

"Sir, this is an outline of the transactions of this skirmish, and agreeably to my memory is a correct one, &c.

"Yours respectfully, with sentiments of the highest esteem.

"FLACK."

In and about this time, perhaps a day or two before, another scouting party of Indians came within a quarter of a mile of Fort Hamilton, on the waters of the Pickatoleca.⁵² Three men had just left the fort, and gone to the farm of a Mr. Spafford. They made an attack on them and killed two,⁵³ the third fled, an Indian seeing he had got away without falling as the other two, pursued him in order to despatch him likewise, but in this the savage had made a bad calculation, the white man was not hurt, and in place of the Indian killing him he killed the Indian, and made shift to hide from the vigilant eye of the rest; after staying in his place of concealment for some time he ventured to sally forth to go to the fort, but about that time Colonel William S. Hamilton⁵⁴ arrived at the fort with a large number of Menominie Indians who had volunteered to go against the Sac and Fox nations, in order to assist in subduing the common enemy of both them and the whites. The frightened man who had run so narrow a risk of being killed by them in the attack they had made upon him and his companions, seeing those friendly and harmless Menominies pouring into the fort, retreated back to his place of concealment where it is said he kept himself secreted for six or eight days, living upon nothing but the vegetation that grew out of the earth. But at last he was obliged to yield to the pangs of hunger and venture forth and risk all consequences, for he found it was as well to die by the sword as famine, when to his great joy he found his mistake.

One of the men killed in the attack was by the name of Appleton,⁵⁵ but the other I do not recollect, neither do I know the name of the brave fellow that made his escape and so manfully gave the Indian that pursued him a quietus. Which in the sequel the reader will find the others of this party all shared the same fate on that day.



Those cowardly wretches as soon as they had killed the two men, took to flight which is their general practice, especially scouting parties. But General Dodge, who happened to arrive at the fort soon after those daring wretches had committed this depredation, with about twenty men, pursued with all possible speed, and in about six or eight miles overtook them. When they saw they were pursued they made for the Picke-toleca, and got under the bank of the creek. General Dodge stopped not for the advantage they had got of him, by being under the bank, but rushed up within a few feet of them and killed the whole band of them, consisting of eleven in number as was supposed at that time, report says since that the Indians give an account of two of them getting away.

General Dodge in this skirmish had four men wounded, three of which proved mortal, Samuel Black, was one; he lived ten days; Samuel Wells, was another who lived twenty-two days; and Montaville⁵⁶ Morris who lived twenty-four days. Thomas Jenkins was shot through the hip, but not mortal.

It appears that there was about this time a number of those scouting parties prowling about the mines in order to take scalps, and steal horses.

Captain James W. Stephenson about this time, perhaps the same day, fell in with another party of those miserable beings, between Apple River Fort and Kellogg's Grove; when they discovered him and his men they took to flight. And the Captain and men gave them chase, he pursued them something like five miles before he was able to overtake them. They succeeded in reaching a large thicket, here they had every advantage of him, they lay concealed in the bushes and were completely hid from him, he had no other way to get at them than to charge upon them in their hiding place; which he did, and opened a brisk fire upon them,

in a very few feet of where they were laying. But the enemy having all advantage of him, he was compelled to fall back with the loss of some of his men, but the Captain and men not willing to give up the contest, charged a second and third time upon them. On the third charge the Captain received a wound in his breast, which was thought to have been mortal at that time, also three of his men were killed dead on the ground. One by the name of Howard, one by the name of Ames, and a Mr. Fowler.⁵⁷ The men now seeing that the Indians had every advantage of them, thought it was best not to put the lives of good men in stake against the lives of those filthy savages.

It could not be ascertained in this skirmish how much execution was done to the Indians, as the men had to retreat and give the field to the enemy. As Captain Stephenson had but a small detachment of his company, and three of them lay dead on the ground, and himself wounded.

I will now return to the army at Fort Wilbourn. The first Brigade, marched on the twentieth day of June. The second on the twenty-first. And the third on the twenty-second.⁵⁸ All ordered to concentrate at Dixon's.

Major Dement who commanded the spy battalion of the first Brigade was ordered on ahead, in order if possible to overtake a band of Sacs who had been doing mischief at Bureau river. He proceeded on with his battalion in front of the Brigade, until he came to a grove that is generally known by the name of Kellogg's Grove.

On the 25th day of June, about two hours before day, an express arrived from Gratiot's Grove informing Major Dement that traces of Indians had been seen the day previous leading southwestward, supposed to have been about five hundred in number. The

DIXON'S FERRY



express was continued to General Posey at Dixon's ferry, thirty-seven miles distant from Kellogg's Grove.

At daylight Major Dement, with twenty-five men, made preparations for leaving the fort on an excursion towards where the Indians had passed, about five miles from the fort, but previous to his leaving gave orders to those who remained to saddle their horses and hold themselves in readiness to act as circumstances might render necessary.

During this time the party who were to accompany Major Dement⁵⁹ to examine the Indian trail had advanced about three hundred yards from the main body when they discovered seven Indian spies, and immediately pursued them—some of them however returned to the camp and informed Major Dement of this circumstance, who fearing that they might be led into an ambuscade, (first endeavoring to quell excitement which the appearance of Indians had occasioned at the fort, and requiring the prompt execution of his order, to put themselves in readiness for any emergency) started out in haste to prevent further pursuit of the Indian spies; and advancing in the direction of the Indians about one mile from the camp for that purpose, he succeeded in retaining twelve or fourteen—the remainder still further ahead.

Meantime Major Dement apprehensive that an attack might be made by a large body of Indians whom he suspected to be concealed in the grove, and observing that a number of his men had followed him out from the fort, determined on the expediency of forming his men in the prairie, then about one mile from the fort, in order to cover the retreat of those who had pursued the Indian spies.

While Major Dement was taking the necessary steps to put this determination into execution, the Indians amounting to between two and three hundred, rushed

from the grove, raised a yell and commenced firing. About twenty-five men who were within hearing, formed in a body to resist the attack, and to cover the retreat of the party who had pursued the Indian spies to the grove, the remainder of those who came out from the fort immediately returning. The small company thus hastily formed, bravely stood their ground until they were in danger of being surrounded by superior numbers. Major Dement then ordered his men to retire to the fort closely pursued by the Indians. On their retreat they overtook three men on foot, who were making towards the fort, but not being able to reach it were cut off by the enemy.

The Indians kept up a brisk fire on the stockade for nearly an hour; but finding themselves unable to stand against the steady aim of the brave riflemen within, gave up all hopes of carrying it, and withdrew to the woods.

About three hours after the Indians had left the ground, General Posey arrived with a reinforcement, with which he had started from the encampment immediately after the arrival of the express from Major Dement.

The Indians remained in sight of the fort till within an hour or two of General Posey's arrival.

Next day General Posey marched to the north, in the direction in which the Indians had last been seen, crossed their trail, returned to Kellogg's Grove, where he encamped to await the arrival of the baggage waggons.

The loss of our troops were five killed, and three wounded; that of the enemy nine killed that were found on the ground, and it is supposed five others fell in the engagement, as that number of the enemy's horses came into the camp without their riders.

There were some choice spirits in this action, or the superior number of Indians would certainly have cut

MAJOR JOHN DEMENT



off this small band of men, as the place of refuge they were in was very little better than the open field.

In this small band of soldiers was our much beloved and respected Lieutenant Governor Zadock Casey; he was one of the number who formed to cover the retreat of those that had advanced in pursuit of the enemy.

It is natural always for honorable men to be brave, there is something in their breast[s] that always stimulates them to noble acts, and on our cool reflection they would court death before dishonor.

This, in my opinion, is what stimulates men to act bravely and patriotic. They are not only acting for the good of their country but they believe it to be an imperative duty for them to do so.

General Posey marched his whole Brigade from this place to Fort Hamilton, where he remained for some days. Here Major Dement resigned his command.

I must here dismiss General Posey for the present, and return back to Dixon's, where the second and third Brigades had arrived when the express came stating that Major Dement had had a battle. General Alexander, who commanded the second Brigade, was despatched with his Brigade with all speed across Rock river, and ordered to march his troops toward Plum river, a stream running into the Mississippi, there to intercept the Indians on their retreat, if they should attempt to cross the Mississippi. General Atkinson remained at Dixon's with the infantry, and General Henry with his Brigade of volunteers for two days, in order if possible to ascertain what direction the Indians were taking; where he ascertained that the Indians had retreated back up Rock river, and that it was only a war party of about one hundred and fifty. He came to the conclusion to pursue his intended route up Rock river on the east side of the Four Lakes; where it was stated that Black Hawk had fortified himself with his whole army, and

intended to give General Atkinson a general fight. On the evening of the 26th of June, Captain George Walker and three Pottawattomies from Chicago, came into the camp at Dixon's, and stated that there were seventy-five Pottawattomies awaiting to join the whole army at Sycamore creek, that they had been there several days awaiting our arrival, and that they had become suspicious that they were in great danger as it was their opinion that the Sacs was [were] not far away. Next morning General Henry sent on Colonel Fry with his regiment, with orders to reach there as soon as possible, and await our arrival. Colonel Fry always strictly doing his duty, moved on with all possible celerity, with Capt. Walker as his pilot, to where these children of the forest were awaiting to join in the chase against Black Hawk and his band, with Mr. Caldwell who acts as their principal chief in council. They had also their war chief Shabbaney [Sha-bo-na] along.

Mr. Caldwell has been an interpreter to the Indian Agent for some years. He is a man of fine education and general information. His father was a British officer and his mother was a Pottawattomie squaw. But for a half breed he is very fair skinned.

The whole of the third Brigade under command of General Henry, with General Atkinson at our head, took up the line of march from Dixon's on the 27th of June, directing our course up Rock river, towards the Four Lakes. We lay on the night of the 28th, at Major Stillman's battle ground. On the 29th, we overtook Col. Fry, with the seventy-five Pottawattomie Indians with him.

The Indians appeared to be highly pleased to think they were honored so far as to take a hand with us against the Sacs. They were well armed, with both guns and spears.

The 30th, we passed through the Turtle village,

CHIEF SHA-BO-NA



which is a considerable Winnebago town, but it was deserted. We marched on about one mile, and encamped in the open prairie near enough to Rock river to get water from it. We here saw very fresh signs of the Sac Indians, where they had been apparently fishing on that day. General Atkinson believed we were close to them, and apprehended an attack that night. The sentinels fired several times, and we were as often paraded, and prepared to receive the enemy, but they never came. But from what the sentinels gave into the officers of the day, there was no doubt that Indians had been prowling about the camp. July first, we had not marched but two or three miles before an Indian was seen across Rock river at some distance off in a very high prairie, which no doubt was a spy, and likely was one that had been prowling about our encampment the night before. We proceeded a few miles further and came to the place where the Indians who had taken the two Miss Halls prisoners had stayed several days. It was a strong position, where they could have withstood a very powerful force, which we afterwards discovered they always encamped in such places. We had not marched but a few miles from this place, before one of our front scouts came back meeting the army in great haste, and stated that they had discovered a fresh trail of Indians where they had just gone along in front of us. Major Ewing, who was in front of the main army some distance, immediately formed his men in line of battle and marched in that order in advance of the main army about three quarters of a mile. We had a very thick wood to march through, where the undergrowth stood very high and thick; the sign looked very fresh and we expected every step to be fired upon from the thickets. We marched in abreast in this order about two miles, not stopping for the unevenness of the

ground or any thing else, but keeping in a line of battle all the time, until we found the Indians had scattered, then we resumed our common line of march, which was in three divisions. Soon after we had formed into three divisions, the friendly Indians that were with us raised an alarm by seven or eight of them shooting at a deer some little in advance of the army. The whole army here formed for action; but it was soon ascertained that these children of the forest, had been at what their whole race seems to have been born for, tradesmen to shooting at the beasts of the forest. We here camped by a small lake this night and had to drink the water which was very bad, but it was all that could be found. Here this night a very bad accident happened. One of the sentinels mistaking another that was on post with a blanket wrapped around him, for an Indian, he shot him just below the groin in the thick of the thigh. At first the wound was thought mortal. I understood before I left the army, the man was nearly well. Here General Atkinson had on this night breast works thrown up which was easy done; as we were encamped in thick heavy timber; this was a precaution which he was always after famous for, which went to show that he set a great deal by the lives of his men, and by no means was any marks of cowardice;—for generalship consists more in good management than any thing else. July 2nd. We started this morning at the usual time, but went but a few miles, before Major Ewing, who was still in front with his battalion, espied a very fresh trail, making off at about a left angle. He dispatched ten men from the battalion, in company with Captain George Walker, and a few Indians, to pursue it and see if possible where it went to. He moved on in front of his battalion a small distance further, when he came on the main Sac trail of Black Hawk's whole army; which appeared to

be about two days old. Captain Early,⁶⁰ who commanded a volunteer independent company, and had got in advance this morning, called a halt, so did Major Ewing with his battalion. Then Major Ewing sent back one of his staff officers for the main army to call a halt a few minutes. He with Major Anderson of the Infantry, Captain Early, and Jonathan H. Pugh, Esquire, went a little in advance, where Major Anderson,⁶¹ with a telescope, took a view across the lake, as we had now got to Lake Kushkanong. They then discovered three Indians, apparently in their canoes. Major Ewing went himself and informed General Atkinson what discovery was made, and requested General Atkinson to let him take his battalion round through a narrow defile that was between two of those lakes, where we supposed the Indians were. By this time our scouts, who had taken the trail that led off on our left, returned, bringing with them five white men's scalps. They followed the Indian trail until it took them to a large Indian encampment that they had left a few days before. They reached it; the scalps were sticking up against some of their wigwams;—some of them were identified, but I do not recollect the names of any, except one, which was said to be an old gentleman by the name of [William] Hale. Major Ewing then marched his battalion about one mile, where the pass on the side of the lake appeared so narrow, that he dismounted his men, and had the horses all tied, and a few men left to guard them, and the rest of us marched on foot about one mile through a narrow defile on the bank of Kushkanong lake. This was considered a dangerous procedure, but Col. Ewing, who was in front with Major Anderson, would have been first in danger. We now found that we were getting too far in advance of our horses; so Major Ewing sent a part of the men back for them. When

we mounted our horses, we were joined by Captain Early and his independent corps. We then marched some distance around the lake, and went in between two of them, in a narrow defile, until we found another deserted encampment. We now saw clearly that the Indians were gone from the Kushkanong lake. So the next thing to be done was to find which direction they had steered their course. July 4th. Major Ewing and his spy battalion, with Colonel Collins and Colonel Jones, were sent up the river in the way the trail of the Indians seemed to be making, to see what discoveries could be made. They at last saw that they were still making up the river on the east side. We returned to the camp late in the evening. On the evening before, General Alexander had come up with us. He stated that he had been to the Mississippi, and had explored the country on Plum river, and had made no discoveries of the Indians making their escape. July 5th. General Atkinson lay by this day with the main army; but Col. Fry, who was always a man that wished to be actively engaged for the welfare of his country, marched across Rock river on this day, to see if there was any sign of the enemy passing up on the west side. Colonel Fry did not return until late in the evening. He reported, he had seen another Indian trail on the opposite side from us, and that he had followed it until it went into a tremendous thicket, such as his horses could not penetrate. On the 4th of July, some of our scouts had taken an old Sac Indian a prisoner, which in their flight, the rest of the Indians had run off and left. He was nearly starved to death, and literally blind. After feeding him, General Atkinson had him examined, telling him at the same time that if he caught him in a lie he would have him put to death. The old fellow told all he knew, which was not very much. He stated that

Black Hawk had passed on up the river, on the east side, the same that they were then on. He stated that he was so old that they never thought it worth while to tell him anything about their movements; that in marching, he frequently did not get up to their camp till late in the night, and sometimes not until the next morning. So our prisoner was not of much benefit to us. He had but few days to live, and to shorten his days we concluded the best plan would be to give him plenty to eat, and leave him to kill himself in that pleasant way. But we learnt afterwards that he was denied this satisfaction, for some of General Posey's men came upon him, and he soon became an easy prey to their deadly rifles. July 6th. General Atkinson on this day took up the line of march, still up Rock river, on the east side. We this day reached a Winnebago village called the Burnt Village, on White Water, a small stream running into Rock river, but one that was almost impassable, as it was a perfect swamp on each bank, and very deep in the middle of the channel. Next morning, on the 7th of July, one of the regulars went to this stream, which was not more than one hundred and twenty yards from our encampment, to fish. While fishing, three Indians fired on him from the opposite side of the river and wounded him very badly with two balls. This was a hard case, for the enemy to come within one hundred and twenty yards of our encampment, and wound one of our men, and we not able to help ourselves, for this dismal stream. The night we got here, (to White Water) General Posey's brigade, in company with Col. Dodge's squadron, came up to us. They were out of provisions, and in a state of suffering, and were compelled to push on to where we were to get something to sustain nature. Colonel John Ewing and his regiment did not reach us that night, and encamped about one mile and a half off

from the main army. Here an awful accident happened. Col. Dunn, who was a Captain of a company, was here what is generally called the officer of the day, whose duty it is to visit the sentinels once or more through the course of the night. Captain Dunn in performing this duty, just before day in the morning, was fired upon by one of the sentinels, and severely wounded; he was shot in the groin, a place that generally proves fatal. When he was examined, his surgeons pronounced it mortal, which threw all his friends into mourning; for he was a man much beloved by all that knew him. But here I must stop. It won't do to write his epitaph yet, for he is still a living man, and is young and in the bloom of life. He still may be a useful member of society, and a friend and public servant to his country, which he has already been for several years, holding some of the most important offices in the gift of the legislature,—such as Canal Commissioner, which he still holds, and many more. So, if he had died, the State would have sustained a great loss, in losing so good a citizen.

Soon after the Indians shot the regular, General Atkinson took up the line of march, still up the river, and made shift to cross one branch of this dismal stream, White Water; but it was with much difficulty, as many a horse mired down, and threw his rider into the water, where he and his gun were literally buried in mud and water; but all made shift to get out. Here we expected to have been fired upon by the enemy. Major Ewing, still in advance of the main army some distance, got over first. He then formed his men in battle order, and stood as a front guard, until the main army could cross this dismal stream; which they had to bridge with grass, as they afterwards had to do many more the same way. In this swampy country the grass grows very high, the ground

being very rich. There were plenty of scythes, and men to use them; so it was an easy job to make a temporary bridge with this substitute, such as the heaviest kind of baggage waggons could pass with safety. We marched on this day about fifteen miles up the river. On this evening the whole forces got together, and camped together for the first time. Our forces looked like they were able to whip all the Indians in the north western territories.

At this place the old blind chief, a Winnebago Indian, came with General Dodge's corps. General Atkinson on the next morning, July the 8th, had a talk with him, in order if possible to find out where Black Hawk was with his forces. The old blind or one eyed chief, told him that the Indians that we were in pursuit of, were still down on the Island opposite the Burnt Village, where they shot the regular, and stated that if we did not find them there he would give General Atkinson leave to take his life. Upon this General Atkinson made a retrograde movement, and measured the ground and fathomed the muddy branches of the *celebrated* White Water, that we crossed the day before. We took up our abode that night on the same ground that we left before at the Burnt Village. Next morning, July the 9th, Colonel Fry undertook to make a bridge across the almost impassable gulf. He was furnished with a number of the regulars, who were always ready for such undertakings. A strong guard was placed on the bank of the stream on the opposite side, for fear of those suffering who passed over on a raft. Captain Early, in the course of the day, took a part of his men and penetrated some distance into the Island. They brought back word that they had seen a good deal of fresh sign, and were of opinion that the Indians were there. Colonel William S. Hamilton, who had a small band

of Menominie Indians under his command, took them and went clear through the Island and hunted it out thoroughly. They returned in the evening, bringing the news that the Indians had left this Island. General Atkinson was again deceived by those treacherous Winnebagoes, but in place of putting the old one eyed chief to death, he still consulted them[him]. They [He] next told him that Black Hawk was still higher up the stream, on what was called the Tumbling Land.⁶² Colonel Fry's bridge, that he had spent the best part of this day at with more than one hundred hands, was now kicked over and abandoned.

We now found that there was no dependence to be placed in those treacherous Winnebagoes. The men now had been marching through swamps for a considerable length of time without success; and no execution done, only what General Posey's men had done by killing the old blind Indian. We now plainly saw that Black Hawk knew we were in his neighborhood. He knew all the passes between those swamps, and could evade our pursuit for some time; which discouraged our men very much.

Here his Excellency Governor Reynolds and his aids left us; likewise Colonel T. W. Smith, who had been promoted to the office of Adjutant General,—which office was not then of much service to us. Col. A. P. Field, General Henry's aid, and Major Breese, also left us,—(some on furlough and some discharged,) and returned home: These men at this time did not believe, that there would be any fighting, or I think they would not have left the army.

We here were in another bad box. We were in a manner out of provision; and the nearest point to us, where we could get a supply was Fort Winnebago, which was about eighty miles distant from us; and to get it, we were compelled to go through the most

swampy country that an army ever was marched through. July 10th. General Atkinson this morning sent Col. Ewing with his regiment down Rock river to Dixon's with Colonel Dunn, who was supposed to be mortally wounded.

General Posey with the rest of his brigade, was sent to Fort Hamilton, as a guard to that frontier part of the country, which was in a very exposed situation, on account of General Dodge having the troops from there with him.

General Henry and his brigade, Gen. Alexander's brigade and General Dodge's squadron, were all this day sent to Fort Winnebago after provision. Gen. Atkinson dropped down a short distance from our present encampment, near to the Kushkanong lake, and there built a fort, which he called Fort Kushkanong, after the lake.⁶³

General Atkinson gave Generals Alexander, Henry, and Dodge, orders to return as soon as they drew provision. Here, when we got to Fort Winnebago, we were still surrounded by the Winnebagoes. A half breed Indian by the name of Poquet, told us he thought we might find Black Hawk by going around the head of Fox river, a stream of considerable size which empties into Green Bay; and offered to go with some of the Winnebagoes as a pilot.

At this place we met with a misfortune which we had been very much troubled with during our march, which I omitted mentioning before. Our horses were given to fright and running in a most fearful manner; the army was constantly in danger of suffering great damage by their taking those frights. There is no one can tell what a horrid sight it is, to see two thousand horses coming at full speed toward an encampment in the dead hour of night. This night they got more scared than common. There were about three

hundred head on this night, that run about thirty miles before they stopped; and that, too, through the worst kind of swamps. This circumstance caused us to stay here two days, trying to recover our horses, but all could not be found. Our road back the way we had come, was hunted for upwards of fifty miles; and still a great number of them were missing.

CHAPTER V.

Narrative of the imprisonment of the two Miss Halls—Their treatment by the Indians—They are purchased by General Dodge and Mr. H. Gratiot, through the Winnebagoes—Their arrival on the eleventh day after their captivity at White Oak Springs—Reverend Mr. Horn becomes a friend and protector to them—They are married—Anecdote of Mr. F. stating the race that Mr. G. rode upon his beaver hat, which caused the death of three women—Poor little Susan forsaken by her mother, and about to be left to the mercy of the savage, when a kind hunter takes charge of her.

THE reader will recollect that, in a former chapter it was stated that two young and beautiful females were taken prisoners by the Indians, on Indian creek, where they so inhumanly murdered and mutilated the families of Messrs. Hall, Daviess, and Pedigrew[Pettigrew].

Reader, didst thou not shudder when you read of this horrid act, that was done in open day in our country? But, alas! if we shudder at the thought of this inhuman act, what must have been the feelings of those two young and unoffending women? Can I find language to describe them? No! The reader can better imagine, than pen can write it.

But reader, you shall have the narrative of their captivity as given to me by one of them in person, which was Silbey,⁶⁴ the eldest. I will give it in her own language, which I think will be more satisfactory to the reader; which is as follows:

“On the 20th of May, 1832, a party of Indians came to my father’s house early in the morning. Mr. Pedigrew, one of the neighbors was there. They first shot him; they then commenced killing my father and mother, and the rest of the family that were at home, in the midst of which two Indians seized me, and two more my sister Rachel, by the arms, and bore us off as fast as possible. As we passed out of the door, we saw our mother sinking under the instruments of death. They compelled us to run on foot as fast as we were able, about one mile and a half, and about thirty Indians following to where their horses were left. There they awaited the arrival of those who staid back at the house to murder the family, during which delay they caught and carried away several of my father’s horses. After the party that staid behind came up, we were mounted on horseback. The rest all at the same time mounted their horses. We rode in great haste until about midnight. They then halted and dismounted, and spread a blanket down, bidding us to sit on it. They then formed a circle around us. We rested here about two hours. They then mounted their horses, and rode at as fast a gait as we were able to go, until about ten o’clock in the morning, when they again dismounted and spread down their blankets, and bid us to sit upon them. We by this time were almost fatigued to death, and faint with hunger; they here scalded some beans, and eat them heartily. They gave some to us, telling us to eat; but to eat raw beans was what we could not do. After they had satisfied themselves on the raw beans, they again mounted their horses, compelling us again to mount ours. The saddles were the common Indian saddles, just the tree, and a grained deer skin stretched over it, and the roughest going kind of horses. We thought every day it would be the last

with us. We rode on this day, until about sun down, when they again halted. They here roasted a piece of prairie chicken and gave us to eat. I suppose we stayed here about an hour and a half. They then mounted again and rode until about three hours in the night, when they met the main army under Black Hawk. We now fared a little better. When they found we were prisoners, they appeared to be much pleased, and presented us with their best diet, consisting of the kernels of hazelnuts and sugar mixed together, as a token of friendship; at the same time they gave us some tobacco and parched meal, making signs to us to burn it, which we did out of obedience to them. They also this night suffered us to sleep together, which they had before refused. They staid next morning until a late hour. They prepared red and black paints, and painted one side of our head and face red, and the other black. After this was done eight or ten of their leading warriors took us by the hand and marched round their encampment several times. They then took us into the midst of the whole band of warriors, spread down some blankets, and set us down upon them. They then commenced dancing around us, singing and yelling in a most horrid manner. We here thought they intended to kill us. After they had danced until they were tired, and quit jumping around us, two squaws came to us and took us by the hand, and led us into one of their wigwams, where we staid undisturbed until they all could pack up and start, which they did in a very short time.—We now all took up the line of march together, and rode until about midnight, when we stopped. We were again separated, and had not the satisfaction of sleeping together. Next morning, which was the fourth day of our captivity, they cleaned off a place fifteen or twenty feet round, and stuck a pole

down in the middle of it. We were, as I stated before, again placed in the midst, and they danced around us, still singing their war song. They here staid all day, and the next morning took up the line of march again, and marched on until late in the evening, when they again cleared off another place as before, and placing us in it, commenced dancing around us, making us kneel down, and bow our faces to the earth. Here once more, from their actions, we thought we were going to be killed; which we would almost as soon they would have done as not, for we were nearly exhausted with fatigue, on account of the long and forced marches that we had made. Next morning, which was the sixth day after our captivity, we were again mounted on our horses, and marched till in the afternoon, when they again stopped and went through the same wretched and disagreeable ceremony of clearing off a place, and dancing and singing around, while the squaws and young ones were generally engaged when we stopped, in gathering roots, which was our principal diet.

“When they killed my father and mother, and the rest of the families, they took what coffee there was in the houses, parched it, and made it in the same manner that the white people do; we frequently got some of it to drink while it lasted.

“On the next day four Winnebago Indians came to the place where we were encamped. Here a long council was held with the principal war chiefs or head men of the nation. After the talk was over, one of the Sacs came and took me by the hand, and led me up to where the Winnebagoes were seated, and where they had been for some time in council. The four Winnebagoes then all arose and shook me by the hand. Then one of them made signs for me to sit down by him, which I did. He then told me by signs that I belonged to him,

and gave me to understand, in the same way, that I must go along with him. I then asked him if they were not going to let my sister go with me? which he understood. I now discovered that I had been purchased, but Rachel had not. The Indians who had purchased me, again renewed their talk with the Sacs and Foxes. Here another long council was held, and much warmth appeared to be excited on both sides. I thought several times they would not succeed in getting my sister. But at the close of the talk they came to where I was, leading Rachel by the hand, and sat her down by me. This was about an hour by sun in the evening. A number of the Sac and Fox Indians now came and shook us by the hands, and bid us good bye.

"We then started and rode until about an hour in the night, as fast as our horses were able to run, when we came to where their squaws were encamped: we here staid all night. Next morning we went up the Wisconsin river in canoes, and rowed on until about an hour by sun in the evening. Then they stopped and lay by that night and all next day, and till eleven or ten o'clock the third day; when twenty-four of the Winnebagoes started with us towards the settlements in Illinois; for they had I suppose, taken us a great way into the Michigan territory. We on this night came to another Indian encampment. We here were permitted once more to taste of food that we could eat a little of. They had pickle pork and Irish potatoes cooked up together. Our appetites by this time could take this food, although we were greatly distressed in mind.

"Next day they travelled until nearly night, when they chanced to kill a deer. They cooked it, and devoured it in a very few minutes; but they gave us what we could eat of it. They had a little salt which they gave us to salt our part of the deer.

"We on this evening got to the Blue Mounds, in

the mining country. There was a small fort at this place, and a few families. It was an outside place of the inhabited part, and on the north side of the mining country, something like fifty miles north of the south line of Michigan territory.

"Next morning we started on to Gratiot's Grove, as it was called, in company with two hundred and seventy-three soldiers, and the same twenty-four Winnebago Indians. In five or six miles we met Henry Gratiot, Indian agent, coming to meet us. We then understood that he and General Dodge had employed the Indians that came after us, to do so."

I then inquired of her, if she knew how much the Winnebagoes had to pay for them. She replied, "I understood that General Dodge and Mr. Gratiot had given them, the Winnebagoes, two thousand dollars, paid in forty horses, wampum and other trinkets, to purchase us of the Sacs and Foxes."

"We on this night reached the White Oak Grove in the settlement of the mines. Next day we reached Mr. Henry Gratiot's. We here remained in the neighborhood, at a small fort, at what was called the White Oak Springs, about two weeks. We then went to Gale-na and remained about one week."

I then inquired of her, if she did not think that some of the Indians that were engaged in taking them, were Pottawattomies? to which she replied, that "the four who took them by the hand at first, were Pottawattomies; for one of them she had frequently seen before."

Oh, reader, let us here stop and pause for one moment, and place ourselves in the situation of these two weak and feeble young women, who had just been prisoners in the hands of those barbarians for eleven days. Alas! go back to the scene of the massacre of their father, mother, brothers and sisters! What were their feelings? But, oh! how shall I begin to describe

them? Alas! if I were only a Hervey, a Milton, or a Newton, I might then give a faint glimmer of one half of the anguish of their bursting hearts. Torn with violence, by frightful savages, from the abodes of peace and innocence; and, oh! still worse, to behold a bleeding mother, sinking under the sharp spear, pierced to her heart by the inhuman butchers; and to see a dear and beloved father struggling with death's last grasp to save his beloved family, who were shrieking around him, and beseeching the inhuman murderers to spare their lives! The imagination can only think the pain they suffered; but it is impossible to write it. Forced on with all possible speed to where the butchers were prepared to lead them captive into a wilderness, where no friendly voice could salute their ears, no soothing comforter to pour the oil and balm of consolation into their swelling and almost bursting hearts. The yell of the war-song was all they heard, as they were forced away with all possible speed into the wilderness.

Solitude and sorrow appeared now to be their doom.—All their tears and entreaties were unheard. Their persecutors were deaf to any feeling for the anguish of soul that appeared to wring their bosoms. Yea, the sea of trouble and sorrow that they were engulfed in, never moved their savage hearts.

What was now the prospect of future happiness on earth?—their beloved friends inhumanly murdered, and they shut out from all the civilized world, far, far away in the wilderness, where the foot of a white man had scarcely ever trod—their meat and drink only bitter tears—nights passed in sorrow, mornings awaked to cares and fatigue—the few hours that they had to rest, the war dance around them harrowed up the most awful sensations in their breast[s], expecting at every dance to become a prey to their vengeance. Oh, horrid thought! It is enough to start a tear in

the eye of the most stout hearted to think of the swelling bosoms of those forlorn and disconsolate young women.

But let us with the poet say,

“Why should we weep, why should we weep,
When heaven throws such beams of love around,
That, mingled with the darkest woes,
The rays of hope are found?

Why should we weep, when every storm
That sweeps o’er ocean’s breast,
Awakes a gem whose sparkling form
Had else remained at rest?

Why should we weep, when every flower
That closes with the night,
Shall blush anew in beauty’s power,
When morn renews its light?

Why should we weep, when placed on high,
The bow, divinely sent,
Still shows, when clouds obscure the sky,
How quickly they are spent?

Why should we weep, when dawning days
And years so swiftly run?
We only lose their setting light,
To hail their brighter dawn.”

It appears that the Winnebagoes had much trouble to purchase Rachel, and from the best information that can be obtained on the subject, they had to use threats, and had to pay an additional sum of ten horses. A young warrior, it appears, claimed her as his prize, and at first positively refused to give her up. When he did so, he cut a lock of her hair out of her head. This I suppose he intended to keep as a trophy of his warlike exploits.

This now must have been the worst cut of all, to

attempt a separation of them, as they now supposed, the only survivors of the family, and to take one away from the other, would be worse than death to them; but an all-wise Providence did not see fit to inflict this wound upon them. He had watched over them in the trying scene that they had already undergone, and he saw fit to release them from savage bondage. He heard their cries, and saw the distress they were in. They were now alone, and orphans in the world.

What now was most interesting to them, was peace of mind. To forget their murdered father and mother was impossible. Were all joys on earth now gone? Were they forsaken by all the world? Were none left to pour the oil of balm and comfort into their wounded bosoms? Yes, there were. The guardian angels of heaven had prepared a second father to take them by the hand, and point to them the path to happiness; and that path was an interest in the blood of a crucified Redeemer, which is a source of happiness to the mind when all earthly happiness fails, if there is such a thing as earthly happiness. That person they found in the Reverend Mr. Horn. He had known them when they were children—he had been a companion and friend of their deceased father and mother; he felt now for the fatherless and unoffending orphans; with the affections of a father he flew to them to administer comfort to their heaving bosoms, which were wrung with the keenest pangs, when they thought of the loss of their friends. He now saw that there was only one way that they could see any degree of happiness, and that was, to point to them the comfort of religion, which he did by exhortation, entreating them to prepare to meet father, mother, brothers, and sisters, on the banks of deliverance beyond the grave, where the wicked cease from troubling, and the weary are at rest. They took the preacher's advice, and sought and

obtained comfort in the blood of a crucified Redeemer, and, as I have every reason to believe, are now happy in the cause of religion, and preparing to meet their kindred friends in heaven.

One of them, Silbey, [Sylvia] the eldest, is married, and living with a second father indeed; his son William became a partner of her cares and sorrows. The younger, Rachel, is also married, to Mr. William Munson, and living in Putnam county.

There is one thing more I cannot dismiss this subject and leave unnoticed. Although they were with the savage barbarians, and the worst of inhuman butchers that probably the earth affords, they never attempted to violate their chastity.

This is one of the noblest traits in the character of a savage, and one that appears to be held sacred and inviolate with them. But nevertheless, they are fond of making wives of prisoners. But it must be done agreeably to the custom of their nation. This they hold sacred, for they think if they were to violate this rule and practice, the Great Spirit would be offended with them.

Thus, reader, terminates the account of the two unfortunate Miss Halls, who suffered everything but death with those Indian barbarians.

It may not here be amiss and unprofitable to give the reader the following anecdote, which will go to show how easy the mind of a man can be alarmed, and the imagination wrought up to the highest pitch, and the great danger of excitement of this kind upon the female sex.

In travelling through the county of Fulton not long since, I chanced to stay all night with an elderly looking and familiar old gentleman; and with other subjects which we had talked not a little upon, we chanced to dwell upon the Black Hawk war. I asked Mr. F. if the

people had forted in that neighborhood during the great horror and alarm that were excited at the news of Major Stillman's defeat? to which he replied, that *he* had not; but had been much derided for being so foolhardy, as they called it, by several of his friends and neighbors; to which the good old man told me he replied to them, that if he could see a man running towards him with a bullet hole in him, and the blood running out of it, and hear unknown voices in pursuit, he then would think there was danger.

This declaration of the old gentleman made me almost think with his neighbors, until he stated to me the cause of it; which I here would give in the good old man's own language, but as he understood the German language better than the English, I might not quote it precisely right. But what the old gentleman told me, and from his general character that I afterwards learnt from a number of his neighbors, his statement was true.⁶⁵

As near as I could collect, both from him and his family, who joined in confirming what the old landlord stated, and which could be proven by a number of his neighbors, it was as follows: Soon after Stillman's defeat, a party of the troops from Fulton county, on their return home, when within a few miles of Canton, in said county, came across a gang of wolves, and having got into the settled part where they were not afraid, being from the seat of war, fired upon them, at the same time raising the war-whoop, which they had got by heart from the Indians in the memorable Indian school on the night of the fourteenth of May, on Sycamore creek. This frightful yelling, at a time when danger was expected, and accompanied with the firing of guns, was heard by another good old citizen of this county, away from the "far east," who happened to be out a little ways from home, who took the alarm, and supposed

that it was the Indians killing his neighbors, made shift to get to the first of his horses that he came to, and putting on a bridle to guide it, never took time to consult the great benefit of a saddle in riding a long race, mounted bareback; and raising the cry of "murder!" "murder!!" put his charger to the lash. He passed by home, and told his family to fly with all possible speed, who it appears was in the act of moving. But one of the family, who was not so badly alarmed by the shrieks of the dying neighbors, observed to him that he had left his son in the mill; to which he replied, "never mind my son, he is a cripple and cannot run,—they are certain to kill him—each one of you save yourselves if you can!" So saying, he put his charger to it might and main, and at the same time crying out "murder!" "murder!!" to all he passed or met, he left all the world behind him, never dreaming that he was suffering for the want of a saddle until he had got many miles from the scene of action. He then beheld the blood trickling down his legs, from, I suppose the hard jolts of his charger, carrying a large body upon a sharp and bony back. But the ingenious old son of the pilgrim fathers soon found means to supply the want of a saddle. He had, a few days before the action took place, helped himself to a new hat; and not regarding the price of a hat when he expected every moment to hear the horrid war-whoop of an Indian behind him, he made a saddle of his new beaver, on which he rode, as Mr. F. informed me, until he came to Ross's ferry, on the Illinois river, where as Mr. F. stated the citizens of that place stopped him, or he would, giving it in the good old Dutchman's own language, have been running yet; that is, if his horse and beaver saddle would have lasted so long. This was about twenty-six miles from the scene of action, where he remained many days, apparently in a state of insanity. He was constantly

trying to devise a plan to fix stirrups to his hat, and declared that if he only had a pair of stirrups hung to his beaver, he would not be in the least dread of an Indian ever overtaking him; but he was frequently heard to cry out "murder!" in his sleep, as at first, when he started on his race, and lamented the loss of the poor crippled mill boy.

But Mr. F. stated the poor crippled mill boy stood his ground, and his father having plenty of powder and lead in store, issued it out to those who were willing to fight in defence of the crippled boy and the women and children.

Now, reader, the laughable part of this story is over, but the sorrowful one has yet to come, which almost sickens my heart to relate, and I would fain hope it was false; but as I observed in the beginning of this story, it has come from too respectable a source for me to disbelieve it.

When the old frightened Mr. C. first started upon his race, he cried out "murder!" as before stated, and told the people as he went that the Indians were butchering and killing the people behind him; which, Mr. F. stated, frightened the neighbors in such a horrid manner that they took to flight. The women attempted to run, each carrying one of their children, or two of them, perhaps, if my memory serves me, on their hips; running in this way something like six miles. They all three expired in a few days, with fright and fatigue.

The other anecdote is something similar to the first; but it is no pain for me to relate it, as it was not of so serious a nature; for death was not produced by it.

Mr. F. stated, that some place on the eastern side of the state, perhaps near the Iroquois, a small stream in the north east corner of the state of Illinois, the people being much alarmed soon after the murder of the

families on Indian creek, the citizens sent out a spying party to the frontiers to see if they could see any signs of the enemy approaching toward the settlements where they lived. The men who had been spying for the enemy, on their return late in the evening, thought they saw some signs of Indians, and concluded to hasten and report danger to the neighborhood. In a few minutes after they came to this conclusion, they heard a volley of guns fired in quick succession behind them, at the same time hallooing by a number of voices, and dogs barking behind them. — This was enough to confirm their fears. They put spurs to their horses; each one making for his family. As they proceeded, they cried out to the citizens to fly, and said the Indians were coming, murdering all before them, for they had heard them killing a family behind them; and that they had heard the shrieks of the dying. In this horrid rout that took place at this time, there was a family that lived near the river before mentioned; they had no horses, but a large family of small children; the father and mother each took a child; the rest were directed to follow on foot as fast as possible. The eldest daughter also carried one of the children that was not able to keep up. They fled to the river where they had to cross. The father had to carry over all the children, at different times, as the stream was high, and so rapid the mother and daughter could not stem the current with such a burden. When they all, as they thought, had got over, they started, when the cry of poor little Susan was heard on the opposite bank, asking if they were not going to take her with them. The frightened father again prepared to plunge into the strong current for his child, when the mother, seeing it, cried out, “never mind Susan; we have succeeded in getting ten over, which is more than we expected at first — and we can better spare Susan than you, my dear.” So

poor Susan, who was only about four years old, was left to the mercy of the frightful savage.

But poor little Susan came off unhurt; one of the neighbors who was out a hunting, came along and took charge of little Susan, the eleventh, who had been so miserably treated by her mother.

When I commenced telling of these two anecdotes, I observed that the mind of man, when there was cause of fear or suspicion of danger, was frequently apt to suffer his imaginations to lead them [him] astray, which was the case at this time, as it was before with the good old cheese-maker. Now this last fright was occasioned by a parcel of boys who had assembled together to go squirrel hunting; for the squirrels at that season of the year were very bad at pulling up corn: it appears that they were very plenty, and several of them shot at or near the same time, and one of the boys wounding one, brought it to the ground, and the boys gave it chase. It was this, also which caused poor little Susan to weep and be forsaken by father and mother.

CHAPTER VI.

General Alexander returns back to Fort Kushkanong — Generals Henry and Dodge take up the line of march to intercept the enemy, should they be making to the north — March to the Rapids on Rock River — Come to a Winnebago Village — Have a talk with the Indians — Send an express to General Atkinson — They come across the trail of the enemy and return — Fired on as they enter our camp — We take up the line of march next morning in pursuit — Terrible storm on that evening — Second day come to the Four Lakes — Encamp there — A discription [description] of those Lakes — Doctor Philleo kills an Indian — We overtake the enemy the same evening, and have a general battle — We defeat the enemy — They retreat across the Wisconsin River — An Indian talks to us from the top of a mountain, before day, on the next night — General Henry addresses his men — Major Ewing with his Spy Battalion proceeds next morning to the top of the mountain — Makes but little discovery.

GENERALS HENRY AND DODGE had by this time, come to the conclusion to go back around the head of Fox river, to see if they could not fall in with Black Hawk, and stop his passage to the north; as they supposed he was intending to make his way to the Chippeway nation.

General Alexander concluded^{ed} that it was best to obey General Atkinson's order. He accordingly returned the same way we came, to join General Atkinson; taking with him twelve days' provision. We drew the same number of days' rations.

July 15th. We took up the line of march on this day, with General Henry at our head, with the intention

to try and see if we could not hunt out Black Hawk. But on account of our horses taking the fright on the night of the 12th, our brigade was very much weakened. The next morning after we started, the morning report was made out: General Henry had six hundred effective men; and Colonel Dodge's corps was reduced to one hundred and fifty, or nearly so; but their weakness did not discourage these true men, nor any of their officers.

We had now the brave General Henry at our head, and our intention was to find the enemy, if they were to be found in this region of the country. We now went with more speed than we had done before; the men appeared to have imbibed new spirit. They had a prospect of falling in with the enemy, and they well knew, that, if we went back to Gen. Atkinson by the way we came to fort Winnebago, there would be but a very slight chance of ever seeing an Indian; for they now had been watching him some time; and being intimately acquainted with the situation of the country, they could dodge from swamp to swamp, and bid him defiance. We now thought that while they were watching Gen. Atkinson, we could steal upon old Black Hawk, and take him by surprise.

We had Poquet, the half-breed, whom I have mentioned before, and twelve Winnebago Indians with us as pilots, and progressed with considerable speed. Nothing of importance occurred on our march from the 15th to the 18th. We this day came to a small Winnebago village, on Rock river; having reached that river once more, though some distance above Gen. Atkinson.

Generals Henry and Dodge⁶⁷ here called a halt, and had a talk with this nation of the forest—for forest it really was. It might have been supposed, from the appearance of the place they were in, that they

had tried to hide from all the world, as their bark wigwams were in the midst of a very large growth of timber, in a bend of the river, and the earth was covered with an almost impenetrable undergrowth.

Gen. Dodge who was well acquainted with the Winnebagoes, attended strictly to the examination. They were asked where Black Hawk and his band were?—They replied that they were above, on Rock river, at a place called the Cranberry Lake, about half a day's travel from where we then were. Generals Henry and Dodge consulted with the officers generally, in relation to the course most proper to pursue. They came to the conclusion to send an express to Gen. Atkinson, informing him that they had learned where Black Hawk was, and that they would march against him on the next day. We were then, from the best information we could obtain from the Indians, about thirty-five miles above Gen. Atkinson where he was still engaged in building a fort, at Lake Kushkanong.

It may not be considered a digression to state, here, the reasons we had for believing that the Winnebagoes were telling us the truth; for we had been a long time very suspicious that they were secret allies of Black Hawk, as we caught them in many lies. There was one fellow, who, on examination, stated that he had come from Black Hawk only two days before. He was then asked what he had been up there after? He replied that he had two sisters married to Sac men, and that each of his sisters had six daughters, who were also married to Sac men, and that he had been up to see them. This was a very reasonable story, and we thought that it might be true. But, at the same time, it went to show that they were to some extent, allies of the Sacs, as they were intermarried so much with each other.

Generals Henry and Dodge now made application for a pilot to go with two of our men to Gen. Atkinson, to inform him where the Indians were, and that we were going in pursuit of them the next day. After some Indian chat among themselves, they reluctantly consented that Little Thunder should go. The next thing was, to get two of our men, possessed of sufficient courage and perseverance to go. Doctor E. H. Merryman, Adjutant of Col. Collins's regiment, and Mr. W. W. Woodbridge, Adjutant of Gen. Dodge's squadron, were the men who volunteered to perform this important and hazardous service. They started about 2 o'clock P. M., in company with Little Thunder as their pilot, intending to reach Gen. Atkinson's camp that night; but they had not proceeded more than eight miles before they came upon a large fresh trail, which they soon learnt, by its appearance, and the signs and gestures of Little Thunder, their pilot, was that of Black Hawk and his whole army making their escape.—They pursued their course a little further, intending to go on with the message; but this Indian petitioned them to go back, intimating by signs that they would soon be killed if they went on. The expresses could not speak his language, nor could he speak theirs; but they made signs for him to proceed with them, but they did not succeed in getting him more than two miles further, when he suddenly wheeled his horse to the right-about, and giving him timber, left them. It was now nearly night, and the country they were in impassable to a stranger; the ground being covered with prickly ash and white thorn; and in the midst of these thickets were the worst kind of swamps. They were therefore compelled to return to their camp. It was some time before they overtook their pilot, and after dark when they got back. On entering the encampment the

sentinels fired at one of them, and came very near killing him. They now told the joyful news, that they had discovered the trail of Black Hawk and his band making out of the swamps, which seemed to give new life to every heart; as now there appeared to be a prospect of bringing our toils and troubles to a speedy issue.

Orders were accordingly given for all hands to be ready for an early march next morning in pursuit of the enemy. At the dawn of day the bugle sounded. All now were up, making ready with great eagerness for a march. Here we had to leave every thing that was calculated to retard our march. Five baggage waggons, sutlers' stores and a number of other valuable articles were left, in order that we should have nothing to impede us on our march.

July 19th. This day we had, for about twelve miles, the worst kind of road. To look at it, it appeared impossible to march an army through it. Thickets and swamps of the worst kind we had to go through; but the men had something now to stimulate them. They saw the Sac trail fresh before them, and a prospect of bringing our campaign to an end. There was no murmuring, no excuses made; none getting on the sick report. If we came to a swamp that our horses were not able to carry us through, we dismounted, turned our horses before us, and stepped in ourselves, sometimes up to our arm-pits in mud and water. In this way we marched with great celerity. In the evening of this day, it commenced thundering, lightening, and raining tremendously. We stopped not, but pushed on. The trail appeared to be still getting fresher, and the ground better; which still encouraged us to overcome every difficulty found in the way. It continued raining until dark, and indeed until after dark. We now saw the want of our tents in the morning; a great number of us having left this necessary article behind, in order to

favor our horses. The rain ceased before day, and it turned cold and chilly. In the morning we arose early, at the well known sound of the bugle, and prepared in a very short time our rude breakfast, dried our clothes a little, and by seven o'clock were on the march at a quick pace.

On this day some of our scouts took an Indian as a prisoner. On examination he was found to be a Winnebago. He stated that Black Hawk was but a little distance ahead of us, and that he had seen some of his party not more than two miles ahead. But it was a bad piece of conduct on our part, that this Indian was not kept as a prisoner of war, but was set at liberty, and let go: no doubt, he that night informed the Sacs of our pursuit.

We halted, and the order of battle was formed, as we expected we would overtake them this evening. The order was as follows: General Dodge and Major Ewing were to bring on the battle. Major Ewing was placed in the centre, with his spy battalion; Captain Gentry and Captain Clark's companies on our right; and Captain Camp and Captain Parkinson⁸⁸ on our left. Our own battalion (Major Ewing's) was reduced to two companies, (as Captain Webb and his company had been left at Fort Dixon;) Captain Lindsey, of our battalion, was placed on the right, and Captain Huston's company on the left; Colonel Fry and his regiment on the right; and Colonel Jones with his regiment on the left; and Colonel Collins in the centre. In this order we marched in quick time, with all possible speed, in hope that we would overtake the enemy on that evening. We were close to the Four Lakes, and we wished to come up with them before they could reach that place, as it was known to be a strong hold for the Indians; but the day was not long enough to accomplish this desirable object. We reached the first of the Four Lakes about

sun down. General Henry here called a halt, and consulted with Poquet, our pilot, as to the country we were approaching. Poquet, who was well acquainted with this country, told him he could not get through it after night; that we had to march close to the margin of the lake for some distance, as the underwood stood so thick, one man could not see another ten steps. General Henry concluded to encamp here until the break of day. General Dodge sent Captain Dixon [Joseph Dickson] on ahead with a few men, to see if they could make any discovery of the enemy, who returned in a very short time, and stated they had seen the enemy's rear guard about one mile and a half distant.

General Henry gave strict orders for every man to tie up his horse, so as to be ready to start as soon as it was daylight. The order was strictly obeyed, and after we took our frugal supper, all retired to rest, except those who had to mount guard; for we had marched a great way that day, and many were still wet by the rain that fell the preceding night; but being very much fatigued we were all soon lost in sleep, except those on guard.

July 21st. At the break of day the bugle sounded, and all were soon up, and in a few minutes had breakfast ready; and after taking a little food, we mounted our horses, and again commenced the pursuit.

We soon found that the pilot had told us no lie; for we found the country that the enemy was leading us into, to be worse if possible, than what he told us. We could turn neither to the right nor left, but were compelled to follow the trail the Indians had made; and that too, for a great distance at the edge of the water of the lake.

Here it may not be uninteresting to the reader, to give a small outline of those lakes. From a description of the country, a person would very naturally suppose that those lakes were as little pleasing to the eye of the

traveller, as the country is. But not so. I think they are the most beautiful bodies of water I ever saw. The first one that we came to, was about ten miles in circumference, and the water as clear as crystal. The earth sloped back in a gradual rise; the bottom of the lake appeared to be entirely covered with white pebbles, and no appearance of its being the least swampy. The second one that we came to, appeared to be much larger. It must have been twenty miles in circumference. The ground rose very high all around;—and the heaviest kind of timber grew close to the water's edge. If those lakes were anywhere else, except in the country they are, they would be considered among the wonders of the world. But the country they are situated in is not fit for any civilized nation of people to inhabit. It appears that the Almighty intended it for the children of the forest. The other two lakes we did not get close enough to for me to give a complete description of them; but those who saw them, stated that they were very much like the other. I am digressing and leaving my subject too long; so I will go back and pursue our march.

We had not marched more than five miles, before Doctor Philleo⁶⁹ came back, meeting us, with the scalp of an Indian. He had been on ahead with the front scouts, and came on this Indian, who had been left as a rear guard to watch our movements. There were several shots fired at him about the same time, and I suppose all hit him, from the number of bullet holes that were in him; but Doctor Philleo scalped him; so he was called Philleo's Indian; which reminds me of the hunters: He who draws the first blood is entitled to the skin, and the remainder to the carcase, if there are several in the chase; which was the case at this time.

But I am not done with Doctor Philleo yet. I will show you that he is a good soldier, and something of

an Indian fighter. The signs now began to get very fresh, and we mended our pace very much. We had not proceeded more than ten or fifteen miles further, before our fighting Doctor run afoul of two more Indians; he showed his bravery in assisting to kill them. I suppose he killed one, and Mr. Sample Journey the other; so there was a scalp for each. But one of those miserable wretches sold his life as dear as possible. He, in the act of falling after he was shot, fired, and shot three balls into a gentleman who was himself in the act of shooting at him. The balls were all small; one went through his thigh, one through his leg, and the other through his foot. I am sorry that I have forgotten the gentleman's name; he belonged to General Dodge's squadron.

We now doubled our speed, all were anxious to press forward, and as our horses were nearly worn out, we carried nothing, only what was actually necessary for us to eat; camp kettles, and many such articles, were thrown away.

The trail was now literally, in many places, strewed with Indian trinkets, such as mats, kettles, &c.; which plainly told us that they knew we were in pursuit. We too, saw from the face of the country that we were drawing close to the Wisconsin river,⁷⁰ and our object was to overtake them before they reached it; so we now went as fast as our horses were able to carry us;—but this was too severe for our poor horses; they began to give out; but even this did not stop a man. Whenever a horse gave out, the rider would dismount, throw off his saddle and bridle, and pursue on foot, in a run, without a murmur. I think the number of horses left this day, was about forty. The rear guard of the enemy began by this time (about three o'clock P. M.) to make feint stands; and as the timber stood thick, we did not know but that the whole army of Black Hawk was

forming for action; in consequence of which, we got down and formed as often as twice, before we found out that their object was to keep us back until they could gain some strong position to fight from. Our front scouts now were determined not to be deceived any more; but the next they came to, they stopped not for their feigned manœuvre, but pursued them to the main body of the enemy. They returned to us in great haste, and informed General Henry that the Indians were forming for action.

We all dismounted in an instant. The line of battle was then formed in the same order that it had been laid off the preceding day: General Dodge's corps and Major Ewing's spy battalion still in front. The horses were left, and every fourth man detailed to hold them; which gave seven horses to each man to hold.

We had scarcely time to form on foot, before the Indians raised the war-whoop, screaming and yelling hideously, and rushed forward, meeting us with a heavy charge. General Dodge and Major Ewing met them also with a charge, which produced a halt on the part of the enemy. Our men then opened a tremendous volley of musquetry upon them, and accompanied it with the most terrific yells that ever came from the head of mortals, except from the savages themselves. They could not stand this. They now tried their well-known practice of flanking: but here they were headed again by the brave Colonel Jones and his regiment who were on our left, where he met them in the most fearless manner, and opened a heavy fire upon them. Colonel Fry was placed on the extreme right. They tried his line, but were soon repulsed. Their strong position was on the left, or near the centre, where Colonels Jones, Dodge, and Ewing, kept up a constant fire upon them for something like half an hour.

The enemy here had a strong position. They had

taken shelter in some very high grass, where they could lie down and load, and be entirely out of sight. After fighting them in this position for at least thirty minutes, during which time Colonel Jones had his horse shot from under him, and one of his men killed,⁷¹ and several wounded. Colonels Dodge, Ewing and Jones, all requested General Henry to let them charge upon them at the point of the bayonet, which General Henry readily assented to, and gave the order, "charge!" which was obeyed by both men and officers in a most fearless manner. All were intent upon the charge. We had to charge up a rising piece of ground. When we got on the top, we then fired perfectly abreast. They could not stand this. They had to quit their hiding place, and made good their retreat. When they commenced retreating, we killed a great number.

Their commander, who, it was said, was Na-pope, was on a white poney [pony] on the top of a mountain in the rear of his Indians; who certainly had one of the best voices for command I ever heard. He kept up a constant yell, until his men began to retreat; when he was heard no more. Colonel Collins was kept during this engagement, in the rear, as a reserve, and to keep the enemy from flanking, and coming in upon us in the rear, which was a very good arrangement of General Henry.

It was now nearly sun down, and still raining as it had been all the evening; but so slow that we made shift to keep our guns dry. The enemy retreated toward the river with considerable speed. The ground they were retreating to, appeared to be low and swampy; and on the bank of the river there appeared to be a heavy body of timber, which the enemy could reach before we could bring them to another stand. So General Henry concluded not to pursue them any further that night, but remain on the battle ground until

next morning; and then he would not be in danger of losing so many of his men; knowing that, in the dark, he would have to lose a number; for the Indians would have the timber to fight from, while we would have to stand in the open prairie.

Next morning, (July 22d,) the troops were paraded, and put in battle order on foot, except Colonel Fry's regiment, and took up the line of march to the river; leaving Col. Collins's regiment to guard the horses and baggage, and take care of the wounded.

We marched down to the river, which was about one mile and a half off; but before we reached the bank, we had a very bad swamp to go through, fifty or sixty yards on this side of the timber, which stood very high on the bank of the river. We now saw that General Henry had acted very prudently. If he had attempted to follow them the evening before, he would have lost a great many of his men.

When we got to the bank, we found they had made their retreat across the river during the night, leaving a great many articles of their trumpery behind. We also saw a good deal of blood, where their wounded had bled. We now returned to the camp; seeing there was no chance to follow them this day across the river.

We in this battle were very fortunate indeed. We had only one man killed and eight wounded; and we have learned since the battle, that we killed sixty-eight of the enemy, and wounded a considerable number; twenty-five of whom, they report, died soon after the battle.

We now were nearly out of provision, and to take up the line of march against them, in the condition our horses were in, told us plainly that we would suffer for something to eat before we could get it.

We buried the brave young man who was killed,

with the honors of war. It was stated that he had just shot down an Indian, when he received the mortal wound himself. His name was John Short, and belonged to Captain Briggs's company from Randolph county. He had a brother and a brother-in-law in the same company, who witnessed his consignment to his mother earth. The wounded were all well examined, and none pronounced mortal.

We continued this day on the battle ground, and prepared litters for the wounded to be carried on. We spent this day in a more cheerful manner than we had done any other day since we had been on the campaign. We felt a little satisfaction for our toils, and thought that we had no doubt destroyed a number of the very same monsters that had so lately been imbruing their hands with the blood of our fair sex—the helpless mother and unoffending infant.

We dried our clothes which then had been wet for several days. This day was spent in social chat between men and officers. There were no complaints made; all had fought bravely; each man praised his officers, and all praised our General.

Late in the evening, some of our men, who had been out to see if there were any signs of the enemy still remaining near us, returned, and stated that they saw smoke across the river.

General Henry had been of the opinion through the day, that if the Indians did ever intend fighting any more, they would attack us that night, and this report went to confirm him in his belief more fully. That night he had a larger guard than usual. He made use of another excellent precaution. He had fires made in advance of our lines, at least forty yards, and had them kept burning all night. Orders were given for every man to sleep upon his arms: so that he could be ready for action at the shortest notice, should an alarm be

given. We had scarcely got to sleep, when we were alarmed by the running of our horses; we had to parade, as usual, to keep them from killing us. Men and officers now fully expected that it was the enemy who frightened them. Orders were now given, for no man to sleep that night, but for every man to stand to his arms, and be ready to receive the enemy. We all now expected to have hard fighting, and were prepared for the worst. There was not a man who shrunk from his duty. All punctually obeyed the orders of his officers, and made every preparation to receive the enemy, should he come.

About one hour and a half before day, on the same mountain from which the Indian Chief had given his orders on the evening of the battle, we heard an Indian voice, in loud shrill tones, as though he was talking to his men, and giving them orders.

General Henry had his men all paraded in order of battle, in front of the tents, and the fires roused up. After all were paraded, General Henry addressed his men in the most beautiful manner I ever heard man speak on such an occasion. I am sorry I cannot give the precise words, but I will attempt an outline of them. The Indian was still yelling in the most loud and terrific manner. General Henry commenced: "My brave soldiers, now is the critical and trying moment; hear your enemy on the same mountain from which you drove them only on the evening before last, giving orders for a charge upon you: there is no doubt but that they have mustered all their strength at this time: now let every mother's son be at his post:—Yes, my brave soldiers, you have stemmed the torrent of every opposition—you have stopped not for rivers, swamps, and, one might say almost impenetrable forests; suffered through the beating storm of night, amidst the sharpest peals of thunder, and when

the heavens appeared a plane of lightning. My brave boys, hear their yells; let them not daunt you; remember the glory you won on the evening before last; be not now the tarnishers of this reputation, that you are so justly entitled to: remember that you are fighting a set of demons, who have lately been taking the lives of your helpless and unoffending neighbors. Stand firm my brave Suckers* until you can see the whites of their eyes, before you discharge your muskets, and then meet them with a charge as you have before done, and that too with great success."

The Indian all this time was talking as though he was addressing his men, and appeared to approach nearer. Every officer then on the ground, was at his post, and had his particular station assigned to him, and the ground he was to occupy during the action. In this order we stood until daylight. Just before day the Indian quit talking. When it was just light enough to discover a man a short distance, the brave and fearless Ewing took his battalion of spies, and mounted on horseback, we were soon at the top of the mountain to see who it was that had serenaded us so long, at that late hour of the night. We found only the sign of a few horse tracks, that appeared as though they had been made that night. We marched in quick time around every part of the mountain, and found no one. We took a circuitous route back to camp, but found no one on the way. What it was that made this Indian act so, was now a mystery that no one could solve. But before the reader gets through the history of this war, he will find out the cause. I cannot inform him now, as it does not come in its proper place.

It will be recollected that Doctor Merryman and Adjutant Woodbridge, were both started as express

* Suckers, a familiar name the Illinoisans are known by.

bearers by Generals Henry and Dodge, as soon as the Winnebagoes informed them that the Indians were at the Cranberry Lake; and had to return on account of Little Thunder (who was their pilot,) getting frightened. The day after that, late in the evening, they started again still in company with the same pilot. They now left the Sac trail, and this child of the forest was less afraid; so, knowing the country well, he took them on that night, amidst the storm, to General Atkinson's camp, or fort Kushkanong, where General Atkinson was, with his Infantry, and those of our volunteers, who had lost their horses at Fort Winnebago. The next day Adjutants Woodbridge and Merryman, still with the same pilot, started back to General Henry, with an express from General Atkinson. They got to General Henry during the action, (July 21st,) but there was no time then for reading expresses; nor did those two men think of delivering expresses at that time; but immediately went to fighting. So those gentlemen performed a double duty, and deserve well of their country for the important services they rendered.

Now for the expresses. General Atkinson directed General Henry to pursue on the trail of Black Hawk until he could overtake him and to defeat or capture him, also stating, that he would start himself, with the Infantry and General Alexander's Brigade; and that the rest of the volunteers who were with him under Lieutenant Colonel [P. H.] Sharp, would be left to guard the Fort; and that they would go by way of the Blue Mounds; and directed us, if we got out of provision, to go to that place for a supply.

CHAPTER VII.

Generals Henry and Dodge march to the Blue Mounds for provision — There meet the other two Brigades — Take up the line of march across the Wisconsin — Again get on the trail of the enemy — Take a Winnebago Indian a prisoner — He gives information that the enemy is four days ahead of us — We take him along — We enter the Mountains — Bad travelling — Lose a number of horses — Overtake the enemy at the mouth of Bad-Axe, on the Mississippi — General Engagement — General Henry completely routs the enemy.

WE were now out of provisions, and were obliged to abandon further pursuit, and go to the Blue Mounds to procure a supply. Accordingly on the 23d, we got in motion again; not in pursuit of the enemy, but for bread and meat, to satisfy our appetites — as we were now out of every thing to eat.

Our wounded this day suffered very much on account of having rough ground to pass over, and some very muddy creeks. When they got to the Blue Mounds, they were very hospitably treated. There was a small fort and citizens plenty, who did not think it the least hardship to wait on those who had been shedding their blood to revenge the wrongs those people had suffered. For the Indians had killed three valuable men within one mile of this place; and one within view of the citizens who were in it, — a gentleman by the name of Green, of high standing in society, and who had recently emigrated from the east. I have forgotten the names of the other gentlemen, but can say that the citizens spoke in high terms of their worth, and seemed to lament their loss. [Emerson Green and George Force.]

We here found a part of General Posey's brigade, who had been sent from Fort Hamilton, to assist in guarding this frontier place. An express had been sent by General Atkinson to General Posey, to march as soon as possible to a small town on the Wisconsin river, to intercept the Indians, should any of them go down the river. So, in the afternoon, General Posey, from Fort Hamilton, passed on his way to Helena; and late in the evening General Atkinson and General Alexander arrived with their brigades; leaving Colonel Sharp, with those who had lost their horses, still at Fort Kushkanong; also Captain Low [Gideon Lowe], with one company of regulars.

We here drew three days' provision, and on the twenty-fifth we took up the line of march for Helena, on the Wisconsin river, where we intended to cross, again to take up the pursuit against the enemy. Accordingly we got to this place on the 26th, where we found General Posey with his brigade, busily employed in making rafts to cross on. This once bid fair to be a prosperous place; there were some tolerable good pine buildings that had been put up; the logs had been hewed, and of course were very light. So this deserted village was pulled down, and converted into rafts for the army to cross the river on. The river at this place is nearly as wide as the Mississippi; but not near so deep. There is a great number of Islands and sand bars in it, which will always prevent it from being good for steam boat navigation.

We now once more had all the Generals together, but not all the men; there had been a great falling off in all the brigades.

General Posey who commanded the first brigade, had but about two hundred men; a great number having lost their horses, and some being on the sick report. Colonel Ewing's regiment had been sent down to Dixon's, which weakened it very much.

The second brigade was nearly in the same condition; a great many being on foot, and some on the sick report. There were but about three hundred and fifty in this brigade.

General Henry's brigade was very much reduced, also. So the whole three brigades were not stronger than one of them was at first setting out in the campaign. There was now more dissatisfaction prevailing than I observed during the whole campaign. The general cry with all, appeared to be, that we would never again see an Indian — that they had been gone so long ahead of us, we would never be able to overtake them; and the men generally had become tired of hunting trails; and now we had to hunt this trail up again. So, there was nothing to stimulate the men, because all were of the opinion that the Indians were then near the Mississippi; as the distance was said not to be more than eighty miles; and as no one of us had ever been across, we had no idea of what kind of country we would have to pass through.

The army commenced crossing this stream on the 27th, and by twelve o'clock on the 28th, we were over, and ready to take up the line of march.

Two of our men at this place, whilst fishing, found a dead Indian, which no doubt had been killed at our battle on the Wisconsin; as I have no doubt the Indians threw many of their dead into the river during the night after the battle; and many that were wounded and died on that night; in order to keep us from scalping them; as those superstitious beings think it the greatest disgrace for one of their nation to lose his scalp.

Colonel William B. Archer had, on our arrival at this place, taken about twenty men, and gone up the river to our battle ground, to ascertain if they could discover any fresh signs of the Indians returning, or what direction they had gone from that place. They found no new

sign of their crossing back. The remains of Mr. Short, who was killed in the battle, had not been interrupted, [sic.] which plainly showed, that they had not been back since we had left there; for if they had they would have dug up the corpse for the purpose of taking his scalp off; as they prize a scalp above any thing else in their warfare; and one that is so fortunate as to get a scalp, feels as proud as if he had killed a white man and lost the scalp.

Colonel Archer spent one day in searching for the main trail, but was not able to get upon it. The friendly Indians, who were sent with him as pilots, as usual, seemed to act cowardly. So he returned to the main army, and was ready to take up the line of march with us.

July 28th. We this day, at 12 o'clock, again got in motion, with General Atkinson at our head.

The brigades of Posey, Alexander and Henry, were all now together; and about four hundred and fifty regulars under the command of General Brady. The regular field officers were Colonel Taylor, Major W. Riley,⁷² Major Morgan, and the others not recollected. Captain Johnson, and Thomas C. Brown, (volunteer aids,) Aids-de-Camp of General Atkinson; and Lieutenant Anderson,⁷³ Brigade Major. The author is sorry that he cannot give the names of the other regular officers, as they were all deserving well of their country.

We had not this day marched more than five miles, before we came upon the main Indian trail. We had started up the river in order to get on it, opposite to where we had the battle, or near that place; as we were of opinion they would make up the river, rather than down. But here we were greatly disappointed. We got upon the trail much sooner than we expected, and found that we could follow it without any difficulty.

It appeared to be making down the river, too, which pleased us still better. We had understood that, north of us, the country was very mountainous, and almost impassable.

We followed the trail until a late hour this evening. Nothing of importance occurred this night. All now were once more satisfied, that we had again got on the trail, without having to hunt for it, as we heretofore had done. There was now a hope once more, of falling in with the enemy, — all murmuring again ceased. The great object then was, with all, to push ahead, for fear the enemy might cross the Mississippi before we could overtake them.

July 29th. We started this morning very early, and had proceeded but a short distance, before we came upon one of their encampments. We found that they were still killing their horses to eat. They here had killed the willing animal, that had carried them, no doubt for miles, and through many dangers. We now discovered that the enemy was about four days ahead of us, and were still flying from us with all speed.

July 30th. We this morning quickened our pace, and marched as fast as the nature of the case would admit of; but we soon found that the game that we were in chase of, had taken a track to the north; and our troubles seemed to be returning on us. We discovered they were making up a bad swampy stream, apparently in order to find a crossing place. Before we succeeded in crossing this stream, we found ourselves going back, in the same direction we had come; but after we had crossed, we, not unlike a parcel of hounds after a fox, had to take another track to the south. We now found that we were leaving the Wisconsin river, and were getting into a miserable country. We had proceeded but a few miles, before we came to

another stream, that appeared to be worse than any we had yet met with. We here had to make a retrograde movement, and go up a short distance, and make a bridge; which we soon did. As soon as we crossed, we measured our course back to the trail, the general direction of which we now found, to be west by north-west; but found that we were likely to get into a dreadful country. That, however mattered naught; we were on the trail of the enemy, and had, as we then thought, gone through the worst country in the known world. We had not the most distant thought that we would see another half as bad as that we had passed through. The idea that we would soon get into a more level, and better travelling country, encouraged us to push on, and surmount, for awhile, every difficulty that might come in our way.

We went on, that day, with considerable celerity, until about one o'clock, at which time some of our front scouts caught an Indian, who, upon examination, turned out to be a Winnebago. We here stopped and let our horses graze, while the Indian was undergoing an examination.

Captain Craig,⁷⁴ from Galena, with a very respectable company from the county of Jo Daviess, came up and joined General Dodge's squadron, which added very much to the strength of it. The Indian that was taken here as a prisoner, said on examination, that the Indians had encamped close by there, and had been gone four days. He stated that they had a number of wounded that were laying on their horses, and that two of them died the night they staid here. We did not get much information from this son of the forest; nevertheless, we concluded to take him with us. He at first wanted to stay; but, after finding out that we would not injure him, and that there was a tolerable good chance to get plenty to eat, he went cheerfully. There was another

old fellow, taken as a prisoner, who was suffered to go away. He went to where the Winnebagoes had a small village. Three more of the children of these wild and dreary looking mountains came to us, after we had stopped to encamp. They came with a sort of white flag, which they carried on a stick. Mr. Chiler Armstrong, a gentleman belonging to General Dodge's corps, was the only one that could talk with them in their language. The Indians were examined respecting the country, but could not tell us any thing about it. They stated that they never knew of any person to cross these mountains but once; that was in the year 1827, when the Winnebagoes attacked Captain Lindsey's keel boats; the same Captain Lindsey who then commanded a company of spies belonging to Major Ewing's battalion; who, after their attack upon the keel boats, made their retreat across these mountains. We found the Sacs were keeping the same trail the Winnebagoes then made.

We had just entered those mountains; and as an all-wise Providence had so directed it, no one knew how bad they were; for if they had known the difficulty of crossing, and the distance across, them — and besides, that there was nothing for our horses to eat, but weeds — neither officers or men, would have undertaken to go through them.

But an all-wise Creator has ordained it, that man is not to know one day, that which he has to undergo on the next; for if he did, he would be a miserable, unhappy being; but as it is with man, he is kept in blindness as to his pilgrimage through life. But hope steps in, and tells him his path will be smoother by-and-by; so hope keeps the creature in good spirits, which causes him to pursue more diligently — still thinking things will change for the better, and the rough path through life will become smooth, and then his toils will be over.

This was our situation at the time: no one knew, what a country we were now about to approach.

July 30th. We started early this morning, thinking that we would soon come to some good range for our horses, as we had encamped on the side of a mountain that was so barren, that it had no vegetation on it fit for a horse to eat. But to our extreme disappointment, we continued going from mountain to mountain; and in the place of getting better grazing, we found it getting worse. About twelve o'clock we were obliged to stop and refresh our horses, by letting them graze on weeds, and browse on such few things as they could get. The horses were not choice now, as to what they took hold of; they were extremely hungry, and soon filled their stomachs with whatever they could catch on the sides of the mountains; which were principally weeds, and a kind of a vine which grew close to the ground.

General Atkinson had succeeded in getting a waggon on thus far; but here it was found impossible to take it any further. The waggon contained his own private stores; but here all had to be left that could not be packed on horse-back. A number of articles were packed on horses, that I never saw before: All medical stores, such as boxes and kegs were lashed on the pack-horses, and carried over those almost impenetrable mountains.

We now saw ourselves enveloped in a mass of the tallest and steepest mountains we had ever seen, and no one to tell us how long it would be before we would get through them.

But the whole army was in good health, and in fine spirits. We were not like Bonaparte, when he crossed the Alps — we lost none of our men in heaps of snow, nor did any die with hunger.

General Atkinson had been famous from the commencement of the campaign, for providing plenty of

provisions. We had our horses well packed with this necessary article. We also had a number of good beeves along; so we had no fear of starving.

On this day we began to find the trail strewn with the dead bodies of Indians, who had died with the wounds they had received in the battle near the Wisconsin river.

On the next day, which was July 31st, we were about the center of those majestic mountains. It most certainly was a grand and majestic sight. They were very lofty, and generally covered with the largest kind of timber, with a thick undergrowth. This was truly a lonely and disheartening place. The matin song of the red bird, nightingale and sparrow were all that could be heard, and the only inhabitants of those grand and majestic looking mountains.

There are places, where we at once are at home with nature—where she seems to take us to her bosom, with all the fondness of a mother, although in a strange land. But not so here: There was nothing to entice the traveller to make a stop, except a view of the height and grandeur of those piles of earth, which do not seem to look as though they ever can be inhabited by any civilized people in the world.

There is not the smallest kind of bottom between those mountains. We generally found good water at the foot of them; but scarcely ever enough to have afforded ground for a small garden. So it appears that this country was formed by the great I-Am, for some purpose that the children of men have not yet found out.

It cannot be for those unhappy children of the forest, for they are disposed to reside where they can make their living by the chase. But here was no game for them to chase; no lakes or streams for them to paddle their canoes in, or fish to angle for. We

were the first civilized people that ever had entered this tremendous pile of mountains. They are now found out, and I must leave them, for some person more able to describe further than I have done.

August 1st. We this day passed a number of dead Indians, who had died in consequence of wounds they had received at the battle near the Wisconsin river. There were five found, it is said, in going the distance of five miles.

About twelve o'clock this day, we came to a small river, which was called Kickapoo. We here found that the country was about to change. A short distance before we got to this stream, we came to a beautiful body of pine timber, which was tall and large. As soon as we crossed this stream, we found the mountains were covered with prairie grass. We here found the Indian trail was getting fresher. They had encamped at this creek.

We had now been three days in those mountains, and our horses had lived on weeds, except those that became debilitated and were left behind; for a great number had become so, and left to starve in this dreary waste.

We here for the first time in three days, had an opportunity of turning our horses out to graze. Accordingly we let them graze for about an hour, which they made good use of, and during which we took a cold check.—About one o'clock we started, at a faster gait than usual. We found from the face of the country, that we were not a great way from the Mississippi. The country was still hilly, but the hills of a small size, and almost barren; so we could get along with more speed. It gave the men new spirits. We now saw that our horses would not have to starve, as we had begun to think it probable that they would.

On this evening we came across the grave of an

Indian chief, who was buried in the grandest style of Indian burials; painted, and otherwise decorated, as well as those wretched beings were able to do. He was placed on the ground, with his head resting against the root of a tree, logs were placed around him, and covered over with bark; and on top of which green bushes were laid; so intended, that we might pass by without discovering the grave. He was examined, and found to have been shot.

It was now late in the evening, and we had proceeded but a short distance from here, before some of our front spies, came across an Indian that had been left behind from some cause or other. The spies interrogated him about Black Hawk and his band. He stated that they would get to the river on that day, and would cross over on the next morning. The old sinner then plead for quarters; but that being no time to be plagued with the charge of prisoners, they had to leave the unhappy wretch behind, which appeared to be a hard case. But, no doubt, he had been at the massacre of a number of our own citizens, and deserved to die for the crimes which he had perpetrated, in taking the lives of harmless and unoffending women and children.

We this day made a tolerable push, having marched until eight o'clock at night before we stopt. We then halted, and formed our encampment: But it was for a short time only.

General Atkinson gave orders for all to confine their horses, and be ready to march by two o'clock in pursuit of the enemy.

We were now all tired and hungry: and something to eat was indispensably necessary. We had a long way to go after water, and the worst kind of a precipice to go down and up to procure it. All was now a bustle for a while to prepare something to sustain

nature, and to do it in time to get a little rest, before we would have to march. About nine o'clock, the noise began to die away, so that, by ten o'clock, all was [were] lost in sleep, but the sentinel who was at his post.

At the appointed hour the bugle sounded: all were soon up, and made preparations for a march at quick step; moving on to complete the work of death upon those unfortunate children of the forest.

General Atkinson, this morning, had the army laid off and arranged in the following manner: General Dodge, with his squadron was placed in front—the Infantry next—the second brigade next, under the command of General Alexander—the first brigade next, under the command of General Posey—the third brigade next, under the command of General Henry.

In this order the march commenced. We had not proceeded more than four or five miles, before there was a herald sent back, informing us that the front spies had come in sight of the enemy's rear guard. The intelligence was soon conveyed to General Atkinson, and then to all the commanders of the different brigades. The celerity of the march was then doubled, and it was but a short time before the firing of the front spies commenced, about half a mile in front of the main army. The Indians retreated toward the Mississippi, but kept up a retreating fire upon our front spies for some time, until General Dodge, who commanded, began to kill them very fast. The Indians then retreated more rapidly, and sought refuge in their main army, which was lying on the bank of the Mississippi, where they had joined in a body to defend themselves, and sell their lives as dear as possible; for they now found that they could not get away from us, and the only chance for them, was, to fight until they died.

General Henry had this morning been put in the rear, but he did not remain there long. Major Ewing who commanded the spy battalion, sent his Adjutant back to General Henry, informing him that he was on the main trail. Major Ewing, at the same time, formed his men in order of battle, and awaited the arrival of the brigade, which marched up in quick time. When they came up, General Henry had his men formed as soon as possible for action; he placed Colonel Jones and Major Ewing in front. General Atkinson called for one regiment from General Henry's brigade, to cover his rear. General H. dispatched Colonel Fry with his regiment. Colonel Collins formed on the right of Colonel Jones and Major Ewing; when all were dismounted and marched on foot in the main trail, down the bluff into the bottom.

Here it is worthy of remark, that Colonel E. C. March, who was the volunteer Aid to General Atkinson, displayed the part of a good and fearless soldier; likewise Major McConnel. They went ahead and searched out the main trail of the enemy. We here had to charge for some considerable distance, over the worst kind of ground; the logs, and weeds being in some places as high as a man's head. All this did not stop us; General Henry, with his Aids, Majors Johnson⁷⁵ and McConnel, in front, and the brave Colonel March leading the van.

We pursued on, until Colonel Jones and Major Ewing commenced a fire on the main body of the enemy; at which time General Henry sent back an officer to bring up Colonel Fry with his regiment. Colonel Collins was by this time in the heat of the action with his regiment. Captain Gentry from General Dodge's corps, was by this time also up, and opened a heavy fire. He fell into the lines of Colonel Jones and Major Ewing. Captains Gruer⁷⁶ and

BAD AXE BATTLE-GROUND



[John F.] Richardson, from General Alexander's brigade, with their companies, and a few scattering gentlemen from General Dodge's corps, were also up; who all joined General Henry, and fought bravely.

Colonel Fry obeyed the call of his General, and was soon there with his regiment, who shrank not from their duty. They all joined in the work of death—for death it was. We were by this time fast getting rid of those demons in human shape.

About half an hour after the battle commenced, Colonel Taylor with the infantry, and General Dodge with his squadron, got on the ground, and joined in the battle with us. They had been thrown on the extreme right, by following the rear guard of the enemy." Those men are both brave officers, and would have gloried in being in front of the battle; but it appears that this was intended by the God of battles for our much beloved Henry, who here displayed the part of a General indeed. He was placed in the rear in the morning, and was first in battle. This may appear strange to the reader, but it was nevertheless the truth.

General Atkinson stationed Generals Posey and Alexander, up the river, on the extreme right, in order to prevent the Indians from making their escape in that direction; which appeared to be one of those hard cases, for the men had marched a great way, through swamps, over mountains, and through the worst kind of forests;—had suffered much with fatigue—and many other hardships which a person necessarily has to undergo in a campaign: and that, too, they had done without a murmur, in order that they might have it in their power to assist in expelling from their country, those wretched children of the forest.

The battle lasted about three hours: when we came upon the enemy, they were fixing their bark canoes to cross the river. Some of them had crossed; others

had just launched their canoes; and some had not got them made; but I suppose all were busy in making the necessary arrangements to cross and get out of our way.

But the Ruler of the Universe, He who takes vengeance on the guilty, did not design those guilty wretches to escape His vengeance for the horrid deeds they had done, which were of the most appalling nature. He here took just retribution for the many innocent lives those cruel savages had taken on our northern frontiers.

It can never be ascertained how many were killed in this battle; but from the best calculation that could be made, I suppose we killed about one hundred and fifty; and I think it altogether probable, that as many more were drowned in attempting to cross the river. The river where they attempted to cross, was full of islands. A number of them succeeded in reaching one of those islands, and had taken shelter behind old logs and willows, where they kept up a constant fire upon us during the engagement. Colonel Taylor⁷⁸ ordered an officer and a part of his infantry to cross over to the island, and rout the enemy from this position; but it being the nature of an Indian to sell his life as dear as possible, they did so here. They killed five of the regulars, before they could drive them from their strong hold that they had got into; and then, it had to be done by a charge, which those men were not afraid to do.⁷⁹

I am sorry, that, I cannot recollect the name of the officer who commanded and took this band of regulars into this island.

There were a number of gentlemen belonging to the militia, who crossed also into this island, and assisted in driving the enemy from this hiding place. Mr. William Bradford, Adjutant of Major Ewing's spy battalion, and many other brave and fearless men from the militia, crossed.

The part of the river they had to wade, took a man

up to his arm-pits; but even this appeared to be no obstacle in their way. The enemy were there, doing mischief by annoying us, and they had to be routed or killed. The latter was most desirable, and was nearly done, there being but few who made their escape from the place.

During the engagement we killed some of the squaws through mistake. It was a great misfortune to those miserable squaws and children, that they did not carry into execution [the plan] they had formed on the morning of the battle — that was, to come and meet us, and surrender themselves prisoners of war. It was a horrid sight to witness little children, wounded and suffering the most excruciating pain, although they were of the savage enemy, and the common enemy of the country.

It was enough to make the heart of the most hardened being on earth to ache.

We took about fifty prisoners, principally women and children. They during the engagement, had concealed themselves in the high weeds and grass, and amongst old logs and brush, which lay very thick in the bottom, and some had buried themselves in the mud and sand in the bank of the river, just leaving enough of their heads out to breathe the breath of life. The soldiers drew them out, and brought them to what was then called head quarters, the place where the officers were principally assembled, and where the Surgeons and Surgeon's mates were busily engaged in dressing and examining the wounded. We lost here in killed and wounded twenty-seven men. Three of the wounded died next day, among whom was Lieutenant [Samuel] Bowman. He had command of the company, the Captain being absent. The loss of this officer was very much lamented by his men and brother officers. He fought bravely until he received the mortal wound. He belonged to Colonel Fry's regiment. I have been told

that he had a wife and one child to lament his death ; but the child can have it to say, when he arrives to the years of maturity, that his father died fighting the battles of his country, and he was proud that he had a father that died in such a cause.

As soon as the battle was over, all the wounded were collected to one place, and, with those of our enemy, were examined, and their wounds dressed ; there was no difference here between our men and our enemy. The different Surgeons did their best for both. They were no longer able to do us any harm, but were in our power, and begging for mercy, and we acted like a civilized people, although it was with the worst kind of enemies, and one that had done so much mischief, and had taken away so many of the lives of our fellow citizens. After the Indians were all collected together that we had taken prisoners, they were examined respecting many things ; and among others what it was that the Indian Chief was saying when he talked so long on the mountain at the Wisconsin. They stated, that he was telling us in the Winnebago language, that they had their squaws and children with them, and that they were starving for something to eat, and were not able to fight us ; and that if we would let them pass over the Mississippi, they would do no more mischief. They stated that he spoke this in the Winnebago language, believing that the same Winnebagoes that were with us in the battle, were still there. But here he was mistaken : as soon as the battle was over, the Indians, with our pilot Poquet, all left us ; so there was no one among us, that understood the Winnebago language.

CHAPTER VIII.

Steam boat Warrior has an engagement with the enemy, the day before we overtook them — Steam boat commanded by Lieutenant Kingsbury — Arrival of the steam boat Warrior, soon after our engagement — She returns and brings us provision — General Atkinson, believing that the enemy were nearly all destroyed, did not pursue them across the Mississippi — March down to Prairie du Chien — We find the friendly Indians rejoicing at the defeat of the enemy — General Atkinson has a talk with the Winnebagoes — We march to Dixon's and are discharged.

SOON after the battle was over, the steam boat Warrior arrived. When she came near to where we were, she commenced raking the Island with a six pounder. We in return fired a salute, thinking she was apprised of our battle, and that she was firing us a salute; but the truth was, she had the first fight with the enemy herself,⁸⁰ and was then raking the Island with her six pounder, not knowing but the enemy were still there. When she came up, we then learnt that on the evening before, she had been there for the express purpose of preventing the Indians from crossing, until the main army might get up with them. Lieutenant Kingsbury, who commanded, stated that they hoisted a white flag, but would not send aboard the steam boat. He told them if they did not do it, he would fire upon them; but they still refused, and appeared to be making preparation for action; so, accordingly, he fired his six pounder, and likewise opened a fire of musquetry upon them, when they commenced a heavy fire upon the boat. The battle now became general, and lasted for

some time, as the boat was anchored. All were at their posts, and would have, it is stated, continued at this place until the main army got up, if they had not been out of wood. So she had to drop down, in order to lay in wood; but it is stated, she killed five in this action and, I suppose, wounded a number; but the number I do not think has been ascertained; but Lieutenant Kingsbury and all the other officers deserve great credit for the bravery and industry they made use of, in trying to prevent the Indians from crossing until the army could come up with them; they dropped down that night as low as Prairie du Chien, and took in wood, and returned to the scene of action the next day, by twelve o'clock, a distance of forty miles or upwards. But when they got back to their old play place, the boys that they had been sporting with the day before, were no more. We had killed and wounded a great many of these wretched wanderers, that have no home in the world, but are like the wild beasts more than man — wandering from forest to forest, and not making any improvement in the natural mind. All their study is, how to proceed in the chase, or take scalps in time of war. But although they are a miserable race of people, and live a wretched life, they are much frightened when they see death stare them in the face; which was the case at this time. When we came upon the squaws and children, they raised a scream and cry loud enough to affect the stoutest man upon earth. If they had shown themselves, they would have come off much better, but fear prevented them; and in their retreat, trying to hide from us, many of them were killed; but contrary to the wish of every man, as neither officer nor private intended to have spilt the blood of those squaws and children. But such was their fate; some of them were killed, but not intentionally by any man; as all were men of too much sense of honor and feeling to

have killed any but those who were able to harm us. We all well knew the squaws and children could do us no harm; and could not help what the old Black Hawk and the other chiefs did. The prisoners we took seemed to lament their ever having raised arms against the United States, and appeared to blame the Black Hawk and the Prophet, for the miserable condition that their tribe was then in; but at the same time, appeared to rejoice that they were prisoners of war, which plainly showed that they had some faith in our humanity, and that they would exchange the life they then were living, for any other. They appeared to manifest every token of honesty in their examination. They stated that Black Hawk had stolen off up the river, at the commencement of the battle, with some few of his warriors, and a few squaws and children. I think the number of warriors was ten, and thirty-five women and children, or, in other words, four lodges, which is the Indian phrase as they do not know how to count by numbers. They were examined respecting the first battle we had with them on the Wisconsin, and they stated that we killed sixty-eight on the field of action; and that twenty-five had died since with their wounds; making in all ninety-three that we are certain we killed in that battle, besides a number more, that there is no doubt still lingered and died with their wounds. Putting together what were killed in the two battles, and all the little skirmishes, we must have destroyed upwards of four hundred of these unhappy and miserable beings, which was occasioned, no doubt, by the superstitious ideas which were instilled into their minds by the Prophet.⁸¹ Although I have already stated that those unhappy wanderers make no improvement in the natural mind, they still, by instinct, believe in an over-ruling Providence, and are the most credulous people upon earth. They pay much attention to their dreams, and if one

of their nation dreams much, he soon takes the name of prophet, as they believe it to be a visitation of the Great Spirit. One morning I chanced to rise very early; and taking a walk through the encampment, accidentally wandered to where the Indians were encamped. It was just at the dawn of day, and they were just beginning their morning worship of the Great Spirit. I had often heard that these uninformed children of the forest, believed that there was a God, and tried to worship him, which made me call a halt to see if what I had heard respecting this unhappy people was true. They commenced by three of them standing up with their faces to the east; one of them commenced a kind of talk, as though he was talking to some person at a distance, at the same time shaking a gourd, which, from the rattling, I should have taken to be full of pebbles or beans. The other two stood very still, looking towards the east; the others were all sitting round in the most perfect silence, when the old priest, prophet, or whatever they called him, commenced a kind of song, which, I believe, is the common one sung by the Indians on all occasions. It was, as near as I could make out, in the following words. He-aw-aw-he-aw-how-he-aw-hum — with a great many elevations and falls in their tone, and beating time with the gourd of pebbles. When this song was sung they commenced a kind of prayer, which I thought the most solemn thing I had witnessed. It was a long, monotonous note, occasionally dropping by a number of tones at once, to a low and unearthly murmur. When he had done he handed the gourd of pebbles to one of the two that stood by him, who went, as near as I could ascertain, through the same ceremony, still shaking the gourd. When he had done, he handed it to the third, who went through the same motions, and making use of the same words that the first two had done,

which I suppose was a supplication or prayer to the Great Spirit to give them plenty to eat, and strength to conquer their enemies. It is stated, by those who are acquainted with this race of people, that they are very much afraid of offending the Great Spirit. If they have bad luck in hunting, they think it is caused by their having offended the Great Spirit, and they make an atonement, by offering up or making a sacrifice of something that they set much store by, such as burning their tobacco,⁸² or something else that they doat upon very much, but there is nothing in this world that they think more of than tobacco, as smoking they think is almost as indispensably necessary as eating. I must now return to the battle ground with my subject. After the battle was all over, and the wounded all attended to, the prisoners and the wounded of both parties, were put on board of the steamboat Warrior, and taken down to Prairie du Chien, where the wounded were taken to the hospital, and the prisoners put in confinement. The boat returned to us the next morning. We were still at the battle ground, or near it; whilst we lay there, our men were still picking up scattering Indians. They brought in an old chief who was wounded. He was very poor, was between six and seven feet high; what hair was on his head was gray, but that was not much, as the most of it was shaved off, just leaving enough for hand hold to scalp him by; as these superstitious beings think it would be a mark of cowardice to cut off this tuft of hair, which they call their scalp. These superstitious beings believe that if they are maimed or disfigured in this world, they will appear in the next in the same form, which is the reason they scarcely ever bury their dead. If he should chance to lose his scalp, they think that it would show in the next world that he had been conquered and scalped by an enemy, which would go to show that he was not a great warrior.⁸³

Gen. Atkinson now thought that he had taken just retribution for the blood these Indians had spilt on our frontiers, and saw that it would be useless to cross the river in pursuit of those wretched beings, for they were now scattered and hid in the swamps, so that it was an impossible thing to take many of them. He finally came to the conclusion, to drop down to Prairie du Chien, and have a talk with the Winnebagoes; for it was now manifest that they had been allies to the Sacs and Foxes; for the prisoners that we took in this action, put all doubts to rest on this score. We had a long time believed that they were acting treacherously, and General Atkinson now thought that it was time to bring them to an account for their conduct. He, accordingly, on the second day after the battle, which was the fourth of August, took up the line of march for Prairie du Chien; but before General Atkinson left the battle ground, he provisioned a number of Sioux⁸⁴ and some Winnebagoes, and sent them in search of Black Hawk to see if they could not capture him, and bring him in as a prisoner, which the Sioux appeared to be anxious to do, as the Sacs and they had been at variance a long time; and they saw that there was no chance of taking revenge for the many injuries the Sacs had done them. General Atkinson and the infantry went down on the steam boat Warrior, and reached Prairie du Chien on the same day we started. The mounted men, baggage and all went down by land, and reached Prairie du Chien the next day, which was the fifth of August. On entering the settlement of Prairie du Chien, we witnessed a very novel scene. The Menominee Indians were rejoicing at the defeat of the Sacs and Foxes, and were expressing it by music and dancing. They had obtained several scalps, amongst which were some of the squaws, which they always give to their

squaws. They had given their squaws several of them, and were making music for them to dance around them. It was, as near as I could observe, in the following way: The men all stood in a row with gourds in their hands, shaking them in very regular order, while one old fellow was beating on the head of a kind of drum, which is generally a deer skin stretched over a hollow gum, sawed to the length of our drums. They never use but one stick, and that very slow. The squaws were all paraded in front of the men, facing them, and the squaws who were related to those whom the Sacs and Foxes killed in 1831, held the scalps of the Sacs and Fox squaws on long poles, and stood in the center between the two lines, shaking them, while the other squaws and the men danced around them, apparently trying to keep time with the rattling of the gourds, and sound of the drum, and all at the same time singing the song usually sung by all nations of Indians, consisting only of a few simple words that I have already repeated; but they rise and fall very singular, and always beat time to the song with their feet; when the song gets to the highest pitch, they jump up very high, and sometimes stamp with their feet. They generally bend forward toward each other, sometimes with their noses so close as to touch. The squaws appeared to exert all the power they were master of, in shaking the scalps, and using their feet at the same time, with the drummer and the gourd-shakers; and, from their countenances, they appeared to be perfectly happy.—General Atkinson, on the second day after we arrived at Prairie du Chien, had the principal Chiefs of the Winnebagoes, and a few of the Menominies, at Gen. Street's, the Indian Agent at Prairie du Chien, and had a talk with them. He told them that they had given him reason to think they were not true to him, as he had caught them in

many lies, which they tried to deny. He then accused Wisshick of aiding the Sacs, and inquired of him where his two sons were. The answer of Wisshick was, that he did not know where they were. General Atkinson then asked him if they were not with Black Hawk. His answer was, that one had been with him, but he did not know where he was then. General Atkinson then ordered him to be put in prison until his sons could be produced. He then had a talk with the Menominies, who had never been at war with the United States. They professed all the friendship in the world for our Government; and stated that they had never done us any harm, and did not tell lies, and that if they wanted to do any harm now, they would not know how. This was a little Menominie Chief whose name I do not recollect. Gen. Atkinson talked very friendly to him, and advised him to pursue the same friendly course towards the United States, and they would be well treated. When this Chief was done, he made a request of Gen. Atkinson, whom he termed father, to give each of his young men a pair of shoes, and stated that their feet were worn out with walking. He then went on to explain, that when he said shoes, he meant horses, and stated that his young men had been promised a horse apiece, and had not got them. General Atkinson promised that they should have them, or that he would see to it, I do not recollect which. On the next day about eleven o'clock, Wisshick's sons were brought in, both badly wounded, which went to confirm that he and his sons were allies to the Sacs and Foxes. They had been wounded in the battle on the Mississippi. They were put in confinement July 7th.

General Scott⁸⁵ and suite arrived this morning in the steam boat Warrior, and assumed the command of the whole army, to which station he had been appointed

some time previous, but was unable to come on sooner in consequence of the cholera breaking out in his army. He came past several posts, and discharged the men wherever he found them.

General Scott concluded to discharge the army (or the Mounted Volunteers) that were then in the field, and demanded Black Hawk of Keokuck;⁸⁶ as both men and horses were nearly worn out with fatigue. Accordingly, on the 8th day of August, we left the tented fields, and took up our line of march to Dixon's on Rock river, the place appointed for us to be discharged at (or mustered out of the service of the United States.) All now were eager to press forward. We had turned our faces toward our respective homes; and notwithstanding that we as well as our horses, were nearly worn out with the fatiguing marches through the swamps, and over the mountains, yet all were cheerful, and every heart seemed to leap for joy at the thought of being free from the toils and hardships of a soldier, to return again to the embraces of a wife and children, or a father and mother, brothers and sisters, and to mingle once more, in the walks and society of the fair sex — which appears to be a sovereign balm to man in all his afflictions.

On this day just at night, we met about three hundred Menominie Indians, in company of an American Officer from Green Bay,⁸⁷ coming to join in pursuit of the Sac and Fox Indians. We happened to meet them in a prairie. The officer advanced and met us, or we certainly would have fired upon them. When we came up to them, they appeared almost to lament, that they had not got in before we had the last battle, in order that they could have had an opportunity of assisting us in the work of death to our common enemy. For they are, as I have already stated, great enemies to the Menominie Indians.

When they left us, they seemed to press forward with more vigour, as it was their object to pursue the balance of the Sacs and Foxes, who had made their escape.

On the next day, we began to reach the settlements in the mining country. This was again a solemn scene. The farms had mostly been sown in grain of some kind or other. Those that were in small grain, were full ripe for the sickle; but behold! the husbandman was not there, to enjoy the benefits of his former labor — by thrusting in the scythe and sickle, and gathering in his grain, which was fast going to destruction. All appeared to be solitary, and truly presented a state of mourning. But as we advanced a little further into the more thickly settled parts, we would occasionally see the smoke just beginning to make its appearance from the tops of the chimneys; as some of the inhabitants thought that it would be as well to risk dying by the tomahawk and scalping knife, as to lose their grain, and die by famine; and others had received information that we had slain in battle their troublesome enemy, who had driven them from their homes, and had slain many of their neighbors. Whenever we approached a house, there is no telling the joy it would give to the desolate man who had lately emerged from some fort, and had left his wife and children still in it, while he ventured to his home, to save something for them to subsist upon.

I must confess, that it filled my heart with gratitude and joy, to think that I had been instrumental, with many others, in delivering my country of those merciless savages, and restoring those people again to their peaceful homes and firesides, there to enjoy in safety the sweets of a retired life; for a fort is to a husbandman, what a jail is to a prisoner. The inhabitants of this district of [the] country had been shut up in forts

for the last three months, through fear of becoming a prey to Indian barbarity.

Nothing very interesting occurred on our march to Dixon's. Lieutenant Anderson,⁸⁸ of the United States army, met us at this point, and by the 17th of August, mustered us all out of the service of the United States. We sheathed our swords, and buried our tomahawks, and each man again became his own commander, and shaped his own course towards his home, to enjoy the social society of his relatives and friends, in the pursuit of their different avocations in life.

CHAPTER IX.

Report of Gen. Atkinson to Major General Macomb at Washington—Indian talk with General Street, when they delivered Black Hawk and the Prophet—Description of Black Hawk and the Prophet—General remarks of the Author.

WHEN General Atkinson dropped down to Prairie du Chien, after the battle on the Mississippi, he made the following report to Major General Macomb, Commander in Chief at Washington City.

“Head Quarters, 1st A. Corps, N. Western)
Army, Prairie du Chien, Aug. 5, 1832.)

“SIR—I have the honor to report to you, that I crossed the Wisconsin on the 27th and 28th ult., with a select body of troops, consisting of the regulars under Col. Taylor, four hundred in number, part of Henry’s, Posey’s and Alexander’s brigades, and Dodge’s battalion of mounted volunteers; amounting in all to thirteen hundred men; and immediately fell upon the trail of the enemy, and pursued it by forced marches through a mountainous and difficult country, till the morning of the second instant, when we came up with his main body, on the left bank of the Mississippi, nearly opposite the mouth of the Iowa; which we attacked, defeated, and dispersed, with a loss on his part of about one hundred and fifty men killed, and thirty-nine women and children prisoners. The precise number could not be ascertained, as the greater portion was slain after being forced into the river. Our loss in killed and wounded, which is stated below, is very small in comparison with the loss of the enemy; which may be attributed to the enemy’s being forced from his positions by a rapid charge at the commencement, and through the engagement. The remnant of the enemy, cut up and disheartened, crossed to the opposite side of the river, and has

fled into the interior, with a view it is supposed of joining Keokuck and Wapilo's⁸⁹ bands of Sacs and Foxes.

"The horses of the volunteer troops being exhausted by long marches, and the regular troops without shoes, it was not thought advisable to continue the pursuit. Indeed a stop to the further effusion of blood seemed to be called for, until it might be ascertained if the enemy would not surrender.

"It is ascertained from our prisoners, that the enemy lost in the battle of Ouisconsin, sixty-eight killed, and a very large number wounded. His whole loss does not fall short of three hundred. After the battle of the Ouisconsin, the enemy's women and children, and some who were dismounted, attempted to make their escape by descending that river, but judicious measures being taken here by Captain Loomis and Gen. Street, and Indian Agent, thirty-two women and children, and four men, have been captured, and some fifteen killed by the detachment under Lieut. Ritner.

"The day after the battle on this river, I fell down with the regular troops to this place by water, and the mounted men will join us to day. It is now my purpose to direct Keokuck to demand a surrender of the remaining principal men of the hostile party; which, from the large number of women and children we hold as prisoners, I have every reason to believe will be complied with. Should it not, they should be pursued and subdued; a step Major General Scott will no doubt take on his arrival.

"I cannot speak too highly of the conduct of the regular and volunteer forces engaged in the last battle, and the fatiguing march that preceded it.

"As soon as the reports of the officers of brigades and corps are handed in, they shall be submitted with further remarks.

"I have the honor to be, with great respect,

"Your obdt. servant,

"H. ATKINSON, Bt. Bgdr. Gen. U. S. A.

"Major Gen. Macomb, Commander in Chief, }
"Washington City."

The reader will recollect that I have, in a preceding chapter, given the substance of a talk between Gen.

Atkinson and Gen. Street, agent for the Winnebagoes, and several Winnebago Chiefs, on our arrival at Prairie du Chien, after the battle on the Mississippi near the Bad-Axe. In this talk, Gen. Street told the principal chiefs that if they would bring in the Black Hawk and the Prophet, it would be well for them, and that the government of the United States would hold them in future as friends, and treat them kindly, and not any more consider them friends to the Sacs and Foxes.

On this declaration the old one-eyed chief, called the Decorri, and Cheater,⁹⁰ took some of their men with them and went in pursuit of these Sac chiefs, in order if possible to take them prisoners, and bring them and deliver them up to the Indian agent at Prairie du Chien.

Accordingly, on the 27th of August, these two Winnebago chiefs returned, bringing with them the Black Hawk and the Prophet, the principal movers and instigators of the war. The interview with them on their arrival at Prairie du Chien, I have been told, was a very interesting scene. I will give the reader the substance of their talk with General Street and Col. Taylor, which will go to show how vigilant, and with what perseverance, these Winnebago chiefs acted to take these prisoners. They were upwards of twenty days gone after they left Prairie du Chien before they returned with them.

When they arrived, Black Hawk desired to speak to General Street. The amount of what he said was, that he was not the originator of the war; that he was going where he would meet Keokuck, and then he would tell the truth; that he would then tell all about this war, which had caused so much trouble;⁹¹ that there were chiefs and braves of his nation, who were the cause of the continuance of the war; that he did not want to

hold any council with him; that when he got where Keokuck was, he would tell the whole of the origin of the difficulties, and of those who continued it; that he wanted to surrender long ago, but others refused: that he wanted to surrender to the steamboat Warrior, and tried to do so until the second fire; that he then ran and went up the river, and never returned to the battle ground; that his determination then was to escape if he could; that he did not intend to surrender after that, but that, when the Winnebagoes came upon him, he gave up — and that he would tell all about the disturbance when he got to Rock Island.

The one eyed Decorri and the Cheater both in like manner addressed General Street, whom they term their father; which almost all the Indians do their agents.

The one eyed Decorri rose first, and addressed him in the following manner:

“My father, I now stand before you. When we parted, I told you we would return soon; but I could not come any sooner. We had to go a great distance, (to the Dale on the Wisconsin river, above the Portage;) you see we have done what you sent us to do. These are the two you told us to get, (pointing to Black Hawk and the Prophet.) We always do what you tell us to do, because we know it is for our good. My father, you told us to get these men, and it would be the cause of much good to the Winnebagoes. We have brought them, but it has been very hard for us to do it; that one, Macatamish Kakacky, was a great way off. You told us to bring them alive; we have done so. If you had told us to bring their heads alone, we would have done so; and it would have been less difficult for us to do, than what we have done. My father, we deliver these men into your hands; we would not deliver them even to our brother, the chief of the warriors, but to you, because we know you, and believe you are our friend. We want you to keep them safe. If they are to be hurt, we do not wish to see it, wait until we are gone before it is done. My father, many little birds have been flying about

our ears of late, and we thought they whispered to us, that there was evil intended for us; but now we hope the evil birds will let our ears alone.

"My father, we know you are our friends, because you take our part; this is the reason we do what you tell us to do.

"My father, you say you love your red children; we think we love you as much or more than you love us.

"My father, we have been promised a great deal if we would take these men, that it would do much good for our people, we now hope to see what will be done for us.

"My father, we have come in haste, and are tired and hungry, we now put these men in your hands; we have done all you told us to do."

General Street then said:

"My children, you have done well; I told you to bring these men to me, and you have done so. I am pleased at what you have done. It will tend to your good, and for this reason I am well pleased. I assured the great chief of the warriors that if these men were in your country, you would find them, and bring them to me; that I believed you would do what I directed you to do. Now I can say much for your good. I will go down to Rock Island with the prisoners, and I wish you who have brought these men especially to go with me, and such other chiefs and warriors as you may select. My children, the great chief of the warriors, when he left this place, directed me to deliver these and all other prisoners to the chief of the warriors, Col. Taylor, who is by my side.

"Some of the Winnebagoes on the south side of the Wisconsin river have befriended the Sacs, and some of the Indians of my agency have given them aid; this was wrong, and displeased the great chief of the warriors and your great father the President, and was calculated to do you much harm. My children, your great father the President, at Washington, has sent a great war chief from the far east, General Scott, with a fresh army of soldiers, who is now at Rock Island.

"Your great father has sent him and the governor of Illinois, to hold a council with the Indians at Rock Island; he has sent a speech to you; and wishes the chiefs and warriors of the

Winnebagoes, to meet him in council, on the 10th of September next; I wish you to be ready to go along with me to Rock Island.

"My children, I am well pleased that you have taken Black Hawk and the Prophet, and so many others; because it will enable me to say much for you to the great chief of the warriors, and your great father the President. I shall now deliver these two men, Black Hawk and the Prophet, to the chief of the warriors here, Col. Taylor, who will take good care of them until we start to Rock Island."

Col. Taylor then said:

"The great chief of the warriors told me to take the prisoners, when you should bring them, and send them to Rock Island to him; I will take them, and keep them safe, but use them well, and will send them by you and Gen. Street when you go down to the council, which will be in a few days. Your friend Gen. Street advised you to get ready and go down soon, and so do [I]. I tell you again, I will take the prisoners and keep them safe, but will do them no harm. I will deliver them to the great chief of the warriors, and he will do with them and use them in such manner as he may be ordered by your great father the President."

Cheater, a Winnebago, said to General Street,

"My father, I am young, and don't know how to make speeches. This is the second time I ever spoke to you before the people. My father, I am no Chief. I am no orator, but I have been allowed to speak to you. My father, if I should not speak as well as others, still you must listen to me.

"My father, when you made the speech to the Chiefs, Waugh-kon-decorri, Carimantee, the one-eyed Decorri, and others, the other day, I was there. I heard you. I thought what you said to them, you also said to me. You said, if these two (pointing to Black Hawk and the Prophet,) were taken by us, and brought to you, there would never any more a black cloud hang over your Winnebagoes. My father, your words entered into my ears, into my brains, and into my heart. I left here that very night, and you know you have

not seen me since, until now. My father, I have been a great way. I had much trouble; but when I remembered what you said, I know you was right. This made me keep on, and do what you told me to do. Near the Dale on the Wisconsin river, I took Black Hawk. No one did it but me. I say this in the ears of all present, and they know it; and I now appeal to the Great Spirit, our Grand Mother, for the truth of what I say. My father, I am no Chief, but what I have done is for the benefit of my own nation, and, I hope, for the good that has been promised us. My father, that one, Waboki-shick, is my relation. If he is to be hurt, I do not wish to see it.

“My father, soldiers sometimes stick the ends of their guns (bayonets) into the backs of Indian prisoners, when they are going about in the hands of the guard. I hope this will not be done to these men.”

So ended this long talk of the uninformed savage, which goes to show that they have a warm feeling for their red brethren.

It appears that they at this time were true friends to our Government; but they were, I have no doubt, frightened into this friendship by the first talk at Prairie du Chien, which Generals Street and Atkinson held with them, on our arrival at that place, after the battle of Bad-Axe.

It may not here be uninteresting to the reader, to give a description of those two distinguished prisoners, respecting whom so much has been said. No doubt they were the sole movers and cause of the late war. Black Hawk is a Pottawattomie⁹² by birth, but raised by the Sacs. He appears to be about sixty years old; has a small bunch of grey hair on the crown of his head, the rest of which is bare; has a high forehead; a Roman nose; and full mouth, which generally inclines to be a little open; has a sharp chin; no eyebrows, but a very fine eye. His head is frequently thrown back on his shoulders. He is about five feet

four or five inches high; at present he is thin, and appears much dejected; but now and then he assumes the aspect of command. He held in his left hand a white flag; in the other, the tail with the back, skin, head, and beak of the Caumet Eagle. With this he frequently fans himself. His Indian name is Mucata-mish-ka-kack.⁹³

The Prophet, a half Sac and half Winnebago, is about forty years old; nearly six feet high; is stout and athletic; has a large broad face; short blunt nose; large full eyes; broad mouth; thick lips; with a full suit of hair. He wore a white cloth head-dress which rose several inches above the top of his head; the whole man exhibiting a deliberate savageness; not that he would seem to delight in honorable war, or fight; but making him as the priest of assassination, or clerical murder. He had in one hand a white flag, while the other hung carelessly by his side. They were both clothed in very white dressed deer skin, fringed at the seams with short cuttings of the same. His Indian name is Wabokie-shick, (the White Cloud.)

According to the directions of General Street and Colonel Taylor, those two Chiefs (or braves,) accompanied by the Winnebago Chiefs, and braves, went down to Rock Island at the stipulated time, under the command of Col. Taylor.⁹⁴ But when they got to this point, which had been the place designated to hold the treaties with those nations of Indians, the cholera prevailed to such an extent, that they found it was impossible to treat at that point; so Gen. Scott, Governor Reynolds, and those concerned in the treaty, dropped down the Mississippi to Jefferson Barracks, where a number of other Chiefs and braves were brought to them, amongst which was Napope, a celebrated Sac Chief, also Wisshick, who it appears celebrated himself at the battle on the Mississippi, for it

appears he had the command at that place, and from his own statement did much execution himself.

Here the Commissioners made and concluded treaties both with the Sacs and Foxes, and the Winnebagoes, which the reader will find in the appendix of this book.* It was a fair equitable treaty; the government purchased all the claims they had to lands in the state of Illinois, and pays[paid] them a liberal sum for the same. They kept Black Hawk, Napope, Wisshick, and the Prophet, as hostages for the good behaviour of the rest of the nation of Sacs and Foxes.

Thus terminated a short but laborious war, between the United States and those nations of Indians; but it was not without the loss of some of our valuable citizens, that peace was again restored to our country. In the accomplishment of this desired object, it is just to remark, that both officer and soldier did all that lay in their power to bring this unhappy war to a close as soon as possible.

Our citizen soldiers hesitated not when the sound of alarm was given, to forsake all other interests, dear as it must have been to some, to defend the rights of their common country. They at once saw that these Indians had violated the solemn obligations of a solemn treaty, entered into but a few months before. This bold and daring defiance of us, and unprovoked outrage upon the provisions of the treaty, aroused the indignation of the whole country; it was more than the free sons of Illinois could think of bearing. They immediately at the call of their chief, flew to arms. Their Governor was with them, and one of the first in the field, who, together with his efficient Adjutant General, organized the troops in as quick time as ever it was done in any country, notwithstanding they labored under many difficulties on account of the great scarcity of

* See Appendix, notes 6 and 7.

provisions in our state at that time; for a visitation of Providence had almost entirely cut off our crops the last two years. To provision this army was very perplexing at this time. What was Governor Reynolds to do? At this critical moment our state was invaded by a savage foe, and he knew not how soon the helpless citizens on the frontiers might become an easy prey to their barbarity. But justice says to my pen, write it down, and say to your reader, that he flew to one of the ablest and most efficient men, Col. March.⁹⁵ Provisions, forage, arms, munitions of war, and every thing that was necessary was soon furnished and conveyed up the Illinois and Mississippi rivers, to such points as Governor Reynolds directed him. There were provisions in St. Louis, and this energetic and unsurpassable man got them, let the prices be what they might please to ask. There was no lack of provision.

But the first campaign proved unsuccessful; but such is the fate of war, and none ought to lay the blame on the Commander-in-Chief, which some have had the boldness to do, but I think unjustly. I was an eye witness a greater part of the campaign, and I thought he did not spare time or pains to hunt out the enemy, and chastise them for their temerity. I think he must be a man of a reckless disposition, who would charge the ill success to him in this first campaign. Those who were out on the second can testify to the many difficulties we had to encounter before we fell in with the enemy. But did the Governor, when the first campaign proved unsuccessful, fold his arms in this trying and critical moment, and abandon the bleeding frontier to the merciless savages? Did he abandon the camp for a life of ease, in the repose of his own domestic habitation? The answer, I think, reader, will be No! by all who know anything of the

first and last campaigns. Did he not see that a fair portion of the State, which he had the honor to govern, was exposed to the midnight and noon day assassination by the ruthless savage? Were the cries of his people listened to unheeded? No! he left a devoted band under the command of those heroic soldiers, Henry and Fry, and issued a proclamation to his countrymen to come forth to the frontier and protect the rights of their country.

Was this appeal, too, unheeded by the gallant sons of Illinois? Did they turn a deaf ear to the cries of the people of the mining country, when the savage had killed some of its choice citizens in open day?

Look at the massacre on Indian Creek, of the Halls, Daviess, and Penigrew families; the highway murder of St. Vrain, Durley, Howard, Green, Hall, and many others. Who could see or hear of all those massacres, and not turn out in defence of his country? Or what Governor would tamely lose one moment, before he would fly with all its force to its relief? Was not this the case at this time? Did not Governor Reynolds a second time invoke the patriotism of his people for a fresh supply of troops? The people heard, and abandoned their ploughs, when in the act of planting their corn; the courts of justice were suspended; the lawyer quit the bar; the minister of divine truth forsook the pulpit for the tented fields of a soldier's life. They plainly saw, that if the arm of succour was not held out to those frontiers, the country bordering on the Mississippi and Illinois, and the Mining District, would soon be left a barren wilderness, and present a blaze of conflagration, and the voice of our friends and neighbors heard no more.

Our chief gave the word, "to arms" and that was sufficient; all were soon at the place of rendezvous;

none slumbered by the way ; they were going forth to avenge the murders of their butchered brethren.

In obedience to the call of their Governor, in two weeks there was a force of nearly four thousand assembled at Fort Wilbourn, a distance of at least three hundred and fifty miles from the homes of some of the volunteer companies. Here we again found our Governor in arms in defence of his country. The army was soon organized, by the aid of Adjutant General Berry, into three Brigades. We wanted a Bruce or a Wallace to lead us to victory. Such a man was the brave James D. Henry⁹⁸ to become. He was elected Brigadier General of the third brigade, as I have before mentioned. Generals Posey and Alexander are likewise deserving men, and stand high in the estimation of their country. But an all-wise Providence saw fit to crown the Bruce-like Henry with the glory of avenging our country's wrongs, and restoring peace to its citizens.

I must next speak of Gen. Atkinson, who has a thousand times received the thanks of Illinois and the general government. He had the command of all the northwestern army, until succeeded by General Scott; which was not until after the last battle was fought, and the enemy completely conquered. This officer is also deserving well of his country, for the long and vigilant perseverance in pursuing the enemy through every difficulty that presented itself. He can truly have it to say, that he marched an army over a country that cannot be surpassed in the inhabited world, and one that no white man ever approached before. Not even the savage himself attempts to penetrate this country, only when he is forced, then he resorts to this mountainous forest to evade pursuit, thinking that no white man can penetrate it. This was done as I have before remarked, in the year eighteen hundred

and twenty-seven, by the Winnebagoes, after they attacked Captain Lindsey's boats on the Mississippi. But General Atkinson stopt not at this time for the tall and lofty mountains, or the low and marshy swamp. His word of command to his generals, was "onward, march"—and at the sound of the morning bugle, he was one of the first to rise and prepare for the pursuit. Although stricken in years, he would leap off his charger, when he would come to an impassable mud hole or precipice, like a boy of sixteen. This officer, throughout the whole of this long campaign, which lasted for three months, used every precaution to save the lives of his men, when danger was expected, his men never failed to have breast works thrown up when they encamped, for fear of a surprise at the dead hour of the night.

Thus, by his perseverance, and the gallant officers under him, and a brave and chivalrous set of soldiers, the war was brought to an end, with honor to both men and officers.

But whilst we rejoice at the honorable result of the close of this war, we cannot at the same time help lamenting the loss of so many valuable citizens, who were either massacred at their own private dwellings, or assassinated on the highway, or fell in fighting the battles of their country.

The author has been led to the foregoing reflections, from seeing in many of the eastern prints, that many erroneous statements have gone abroad, respecting the origin and management of this war; and some of them casting reflections on the Governor of our State, and crying out, "poor Indians." But as I have before observed, none but the reckless and abandoned hearted man, would have the hardihood to cast imputations upon our Executive, and cry out, "poor Indians," after a thorough perusal of the many outrages these hell-hounds committed on our frontier settlements.

GENERAL HENRY ATKINSON



APPENDIX.

NOTE 1.

The author must now begin with the Sac and Fox nations of Indians; and it is his intention to confine himself principally to the war between them and the general government.

In order to show the cause of hostilities between those Indians and the United States, he has to trouble the reader with petitions sent by the settlers near Rock Island, to his Excellency Gov. Reynolds, praying for protection; and then the course pursued to dissuade those Indians from their evil designs, by Gen. Clark, Gov. Reynolds, Gen. Gaines, and the Indian Agent, without a resort to arms. But it would not do; a resort to arms was indispensably necessary to restore peace and safety to our citizens. The letters and petitions are as follows:

“April 30, 1831.

“*His Excellency the Governor of the State of Illinois:*

“We the undersigned, being citizens of Rock River and its vicinity, beg leave to state to your honor, the grievances which we labor under, and pray your protection against the Sac and Fox tribe of Indians, who have again taken possession of our lands near the mouth of Rock River and its vicinity. They have, and now are, burning our fences, destroying our crops of wheat now growing, by turning in all their horses. They also threaten our lives if we attempt to plant corn, and say they will cut it up; that we have stolen their lands from them; and they are determined to exterminate us, provided we don't

leave the country. Your honor no doubt is aware of the outrages that were committed by said Indians, heretofore. Particularly last fall, they almost destroyed all our crops, and made several attempts on the owners' lives when they attempted to prevent their depredations, and actually wounded one man by stabbing him in several places. This spring they act in a much more outrageous and menacing manner, so that we consider ourselves compelled to beg protection of you; which the agent and garrison on Rock Island refuse to give, inasmuch as they say they have no orders from government; therefore, should we not receive adequate aid from your honor, we shall be compelled to abandon our settlement, and the lands which we have purchased of government. Therefore, we have no doubt but that your honor will better anticipate our condition, than it is represented, and grant us immediate relief in the manner that to you may seem most likely to produce the desired effect. The number of Indians now among us, is about six or seven hundred. They say there are more coming, and that the Pottawatomies and some of the Winnebagoes will help them in case of an irruption with the whites. The warriors now here, are the Black Hawk's party, with other chiefs, the names of whom we are not acquainted with. Therefore, looking up to you for protection, we beg leave to remain, yours, &c.

" John Wells,	Arastus Kent,	G. V. Miller,
B. F. Pike,	Levi Wells,	Edward Burner,
H. McNeil,	Joel Wells,	Joel Thompson,
Albert Wells,	Michael Bartlet,	Joel Wells, Jun.,
Griffith Ausbury,	Huntington Wells,	J. W. Spencer,
Thomas Gardiner,	Thomas Davis,	Joseph Danforth,
J. Vandruff,	Thomas Lovitt,	William Brasher,
S. Vandruff,	William Heans,	Jonah H. Case,
John L. Bain,	Charles French,	Samuel Wells,
Horace Cook,	M. S. Hulls,	Charles French,
David B. Hail,	Eri Wells,	Benjamin Goble,
John Barrel,	Asaph Wells,	Gentry McCall."
William Henry,		

NOTE 2.

It will be seen that this petition was sent to the Governor on the 30th of April. The citizens waited until the 19th of May, when they found they would have to send a second embassy to his Excellency by express, in as much haste as possible, as they were hourly in danger of being all massacred by those Indians. They accordingly drew up the following petition and sent it by one of the most respectable of their citizens, who was able in person to lay before the Governor their grievances.

“FARNHAMBURG, May 19th, 1831.

“*To his Excellency the Governor of the State of Illinois:*

“We the undersigned, citizens of Rock River and its vicinity, having previously sent a petition to your honor, praying your protection against these Sac Indians, who were at that time doing every kind of mischief, as was set forth and represented to your honor: but feeling ourselves more aggrieved, and our situation more precarious, we have been compelled to make our distress known to you by sending one of our neighbors, who is well acquainted with our situation. If we do not get relief speedily, we must leave our habitations to these savages, and seek safety for our families, by taking them down into the lower counties; and suffer our houses and fences to be destroyed; as one of the principal war chiefs has threatened, if we do not abandon our settlement, his warriors should burn our houses over our heads. They were, at the time we sent our other petition, destroying our crops of wheat, and are still pasturing their horses in our fields; burning our fences, and have thrown the roof off one house. They shot arrows at our cattle, killed our hogs; and every mischief. We have tried every argument to the agent for relief, but he tells us they are a lawless band, and he has nothing to do with them until further orders; leaving us still in suspense, as the Indians say, if we plant we shall not reap, a proof of which we had last fall; they almost entirely destroyed all our crops of corn,

potatoes, &c. Believing we shall receive protection from your Excellency, we shall go on with our farms until the return of the bearer; and ever remain your humble supplicants, &c."

I omit giving the names of the signers of this petition as it was signed by nearly the same citizens who signed the first.

I will next give the reader the deposition of Benjamin F. Pike, the bearer of the above petition to Gov. Reynolds, and also the depositions of Hirah Sanders and Ammyson Chapman, taken before John H. Dennis, a Justice of the Peace for St. Clair, and Stephen Dewey a Justice of the Peace for Fulton county.

"STATE OF ILLINOIS, ST. CLAIR COUNTY.

"Present, Benjamin F. Pike, before me, a Justice of the Peace in and for the said county, and made oath and deposed, that he has resided in the vicinity of Rock River, in the State of Illinois, for almost three years last past; that he is well acquainted with the band of Sac Indians, whose chief is the Black Hawk, and who have resided and do now reside near the mouth of Rock River in this State; that he understands so much of the said Indian language, as to converse with the said Indians intelligibly; that he is well satisfied that said Indians, to the amount of about three hundred warriors, are extremely unfriendly to the white people; that said Indians are determined; if not prevented by force, to drive off the white people, who have some of them purchased land of the United States, near said Indians; and said Indians to remain the sole occupiers of the said country. That said Indians do not only make threats to this effect, but have, in various instances, done much damage to said white inhabitants, by throwing down their fences, destroying the fall grain, pulling off the roofs of houses, and positively asserting that if the whites did not go away, they would kill them; that there are about forty inhabitants and heads of families in the vicinity of said Indians, who are immediately affected by said band of Indians; that said Pike is certain that said forty heads of families, if not protected, will be compelled to leave their habitations and homes from the

actual injury that said Indians will commit on said inhabitants. That said band of Indians, consist, as above stated, of about three hundred warriors, and that the whole band is actuated by the same hostile feelings towards the white inhabitants; and that, if not prevented by an armed force of men, will commit murders on said white inhabitants. That said Indians have said, that they would fight for their country where they reside, and would not permit the white people to occupy it at all. That said white inhabitants are desirous to be protected, and that immediately, so that they may raise crops this spring and summer.

“BENJAMIN F. PIKE.

“Sworn and subscribed before me, this 26th May, 1831.

JOHN H. DENNIS, J. P.”

The deposition of Hirah Sanders and Ammyson Chapman, taken before Stephen Dewey, Esq., a Justice of the Peace for Fulton county.

“STATE OF ILLINOIS, FULTON COUNTY.

“Personally appeared before me, Stephen Dewey, an acting Justice of the Peace in and for the said county of Fulton, and State of Illinois, Hirah Sanders, and Ammyson Chapman, of the aforesaid county and State, and made oath that some time in the month of April last, they went to the old Indian Sac town, about thirty miles up Rock River, for the purpose of farming and establishing a ferry across said river, and the Indians ordered us to move away, and not to come there again, and we remained there a few hours. They then sent for their chief, and he informed us that we might depart peaceably, and if we did not that he would make us go. He therefore ordered the Indians to throw our furniture out of the house; they accordingly did so, and threatened to kill us if we did not depart. We therefore discovered that our lives were in danger, and consequently moved back again to the above county. We supposed them to be principally Winnebagoes.

“H. SANDERS,

“A. CHAPMAN.

“Sworn and Subscribed this 11th day of May, 1831.
STEPHEN DEWEY, J. P.”

There were several other petitions sent the Governor from Henderson river and elsewhere, which I will not trouble the reader with at this time; likewise a number of depositions were taken, the substance of which will be found in Gen. Gaines's report to the President of the United States.

I will trouble the reader with those documents, in order to show that Governor Reynolds and Gen. Gaines did not act premature, but acted with too much forbearance towards those Indians. Likewise I hope it will put the seal of disapprobation upon many false reports that have gone abroad, to the prejudice of those men, making out that justice has not been done them, as I have before stated. I think if they are to blame at all, it is for not calling out an armed force sooner than what they did, for the citizens certainly suffered very much by the annoyance of those Indians. It has been plainly proven that those lands were sold by those Indians to the United States, and the United States had sold many of them to those individuals, which they had paid their money for, and as individuals are bound to protect their Government, and support its laws. It also is the duty of the government to protect them.

I will next give the reader the correspondence that took place between Governor Reynolds, General Clark, and General Gaines, which goes fully to show that those Indians were not to be persuaded to surrender the idea of taking those lands by force, only by an army superior to themselves in numbers.

Copy of a letter to General Clark, Superintendent of Indian Affairs.

“BELLEVILLE, May 26, 1831.

“*General Clark, Superintendent, &c.*

“SIR: In order to protect the citizens of this State, who reside near Rock Island, from Indian invasion and depredation, I have considered it necessary to call out a force of

militia of this State, of about 700 strong, to remove a band of the Sac Indians, who reside now about Rock Island. The object of the government of the State is to protect those citizens by removing those Indians, peaceably if they can, but forcibly if they must. Those Indians are now, and so I have considered them, in a state of actual invasion of the State.

"As you act as the general agent of the United States in relation to said Indians, I consider it my duty to inform you of the above call on the militia, and that in or about fifteen days a sufficient force will appear before said Indians to remove them, dead or alive, over to the west side of the Mississippi. But to save all this disagreeable business, perhaps a request from you to them, for them to remove to the west side of the river, would affect the object of procuring peace to the citizens of the State. There is no disposition on the part of the people of this State to injure those unfortunate savages, if they will let us alone; but a government that does not protect its citizens, deserves not the name of a government.

"Please correspond with me on this subject.

"Your obedient servant,

"JOHN REYNOLDS."

"SUPERINTENDENCY of INDIAN AFFAIRS, }
St. Louis, May 28, 1831. }

"SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 26th inst. informing me of your having considered it necessary to collect a force of militia of about seven hundred, for the protection of the citizens of Illinois who reside near Rock Island, from Indian invasion; and for the purpose of removing a band of Sac Indians, who are now about Rock Island.

"You intimate that to prevent the necessity of employing this force, perhaps a request from me to those Indians to remove to the west side of the Mississippi, would effect the object of procuring peace to the citizens of your State. In answer to which, I would beg leave to observe, that every effort on my part has been made to effect the removal from Illinois of all the tribes who had ceded their lands.

"For the purpose of affording you a view of what has been done (in part) in relation thereto, I enclose herewith extracts

from the reports of the agent of the Sac and Fox tribes, by which it will be seen that every means has been used short of actual force to effect their removal.

"I have communicated the contents of your letter to General Gaines, who commands the Western Division of the Army, and has full power to execute any military movement deemed necessary for the protection of the frontier. I shall also furnish him with such information, regarding the Sac and Foxes, as I am possessed of; and would beg leave to refer you to him for any further proceedings in relation to this subject. I have the honor to be,

"With high respect,

"Your most ob't serv't,

"WM. CLARK.

"His Excellency, JOHN REYNOLDS,

"Governor of the State of Ill."

Copy of a letter to Major Gen. Gaines.

BELLEVILLE, May 28, 1831.

"General Gaines:

"SIR: I have received undoubted information, that the section of this State near Rock Island, is actually invaded by a hostile band of the Sac Indians, headed by Black Hawk; and in order to repel said invasion, and to protect the citizens of the State, I have, under the provisions of the Constitution of the United States, and the laws of this State, called on the militia, to the number of seven hundred men, who will be mounted and ready for service in a very short time. I consider it my duty to lay before you the above information, so as you, commanding the military forces of the United States in this part of the Union, may adopt such measures in regard to said Indians as you deem right.

"The above mentioned mounted volunteers (because such they will be) will be in readiness immediately to move against said Indians, and, as Executive of the State of Illinois, respectfully solicit your co-operation in this business. Please honor me with an answer to this letter.

"With sincere respect for your character,

"I am, your obdt. servant,

"JOHN REYNOLDS."

Copy of a letter of Major General Gaines.

"H. Q. WESTERN DEPARTMENT, May 29, 1831.

"His Excellency, Governor Reynolds:

"SIR: I do myself the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of yesterday's date, advising me of your having received undoubted information that the section of the frontier of your State near Rock Island, is invaded by a hostile band of Sac Indians, headed by a chief called Black Hawk. That in order to repel said invasion, and to protect the citizens of the State, you have called on the militia to the number of seven hundred militiamen, to be in readiness immediately to move against the Indians, and you solicit my co-operation.

"In reply, it is my duty to state to you, that I have ordered six companies of the regular troops stationed at Jefferson Barracks, to embark to-morrow morning, and repair forthwith to the spot occupied by the hostile Sacs. To this detachment I shall, if necessary, add four companies from Prairie du Chien, making a total of ten companies. With this force I am satisfied that I shall be able to repel the invasion, and give security to the frontier inhabitants of the State. But should the hostile band be sustained by the residue of the Sac, Fox, and other Indians, to an extent requiring an augmentation of my force, I will, in that event, communicate with your Excellency by express, and avail myself of the co-operation which you propose. But, under existing circumstances, and the present aspect of our Indian relations on the Rock Island section of the frontier, I do not deem it necessary or proper to require militia, or any other description of force, other than that of the regular army at this place and Prairie du Chien.

"I have the honor to be, very respectfully,

"Your obedient servant,

"EDMUND P. GAINES,

"Major Gen. by Brevet Commanding."

NOTE 3.

General Gaines to Governor Reynolds.

"HEADQUARTERS, ROCK ISLAND, 5th June, 1831.

"*John Reynolds, Governor of Illinois:*

"SIR: I do myself the honor to report to your Excellency the result of my conference with the chiefs and braves of the band of Sac Indians, settled within the limits of your State near this place.

"I called their attention to the facts reported to me of their disorderly conduct towards the white inhabitants near them. They disavow any intention of hostility, but at the same time adhere with stubborn pertinacity, to their purpose of remaining on the Rock River land in question.

"I notified them of my determination to move them peaceably if possible, but at all events to move them to their own side of the Mississippi river; pointing out to them the apparent impossibility of their living on lands purchased by the whites without constant disturbance. They contended that this part of their country had never been sold by them. I explained to them the different treaties of 1804, '16 and '25, and concluded with a positive assurance that they must move off, and that I must as soon as they are ready assist them with boats.

"I have this morning learned that they have invited the Prophet's band of Winnebagoes on Rock River, with some Pottawattomies and Kickapoos, to join them. If I find this to be true I shall gladly avail myself of my present visit to see them well punished; and therefore, I deem it to be the only safe measure now to be taken to request of your Excellency the battalion of mounted men, which you did me the honor to say would co-operate with me. They will find at this post a supply of rations for the men, with some corn for their horses; together with a supply of powder and lead.

"I have deemed it expedient under all the circumstances of the case, to invite the frontier inhabitants to bring their families to this post until the difference is over.

"I have the honor to be, with great respect,

"Your obedient servant,

"EDMUND P. GAINES,

"Major Gen. by Brevet Commanding."

P. S. Since writing the foregoing remarks, I have learned that the Winnebagoes and Pottawattomie Indians have actually been invited by the Sacs to join them. But the former evince no disposition to comply ; and it is supposed by Col. Gratiot, the Agent, that none will join the Sacs, except perhaps some few of the Kickapoos.

“ E. P. G.”

NOTE 4.

“ Articles of agreement and capitulation, made and concluded this thirtieth day of June, one thousand eight hundred and thirty one, between E. P. Gaines, Major General of the United States Army, on the part of the United States, John Reynolds, Governor of Illinois, on the part of the State of Illinois, and the Chiefs and Braves of the band of Sac Indians, usually called the British band of Rock River, with their old allies of the Pottawattomie, Winnebago, and Kickapoo nations.

“ Witnesseth, that whereas, the said British band of Sac Indians, have, in violation of the several treaties entered into between the United States and the Sac and Fox nations, in the years 1804, 1816, and 1825, continued to remain upon, and to cultivate the lands on Rock River, ceded to the United States by the said treaties, after the said lands had been sold by the United States, to individual citizens of Illinois and other States : And whereas, the said British band of Sac Indians, in order to sustain their pretensions to continue upon the said Rock River lands, have assumed the attitude of actual hostility towards the United States, and have had the audacity to drive citizens of the State of Illinois from their homes, destroy their corn, and invite many of their old friends of the Pottawattomie, Winnebago, and Kickapoos to unite with them (the said British band of Sacs) in war, to prevent their removal from said lands : And whereas, many of the most disorderly of their several tribes of Indians, did actually join the said British band of Sac Indians prepared for war against the United States, and more particularly against the State of Illinois ; from which purpose they confess that nothing could

have restrained them but the appearance of force far exceeding the combined strength of the said British band of Sac Indians, with such of their aforesaid allies as had actually joined them; but being now convinced that such a war would tend speedily to annihilate them, they have voluntarily abandoned their hostile attitude and sued for peace.

“Peace is therefore granted them upon the following conditions, to which the said British band of Sac Indians, with their aforesaid allies agree; and for the faithful execution of which the undersigned Chiefs and Braves of the said band and their allies mutually bind themselves, their heirs and assigns for ever.

“2. The British band of Sac Indians are required peaceably to submit to the authority of the friendly Chiefs and Braves of the United Sac and Fox nations, and at all times hereafter to reside and hunt with them upon their own lands west of the Mississippi river, and be obedient to their laws and treaties, and no one or more of the said band shall ever be permitted to recross said river to the place of their usual residence, nor to any part of their old hunting ground east of the Mississippi, without the express permission of the President of the United States, or the Governor of the State of Illinois.

“3. The United States will guarantee to the united Sac and Fox nations, including the said British band of Sac Indians, the integrity of all the lands claimed by them west of the Mississippi river pursuant to the treaties of the years 1825 and 1830.

“4. The United States require the united Sac and Fox nations, including the aforesaid British band, to abandon all communication and cease to hold any intercourse with any British post, garrison or town, and never again to admit among them any agent or trader who shall not have derived his authority to hold commercial or other intercourse with them from the President of the United States or his authorized agent.

“5. The United States demand an acknowledgment of their right to establish military posts and roads within the limits of the said country guaranteed by the third article of this agreement and capitulation, for the protection of the frontier inhabitants.

"6. It is further required by the United States, that the principal friendly Chiefs and head men of the Sacs and Foxes bind themselves to enforce as far as may be in their power, the strict observance of each and every article of this agreement and capitulation, and at any time they may find themselves unable to restrain their allies the Pottawattomies, Kickapoos or Winnebagoes, to give immediate information thereof to the nearest military post.

"7. And it is finally agreed by the contracting parties, that henceforth permanent peace and friendship be established between the United States and the aforesaid band of Indians.

(Signed) "EDMUND P. GAINES,

"Major Gen. by Brevet Commanding.

(Signed) "JOHN REYNOLDS,

"Governor of the State of Illinois.

[*Sac*] *Chiefs.*

Pashepaho, or Stabbing Chief, his X mark.

Weeshat, or Sturgeon Head, his X mark.

Chakinpoxepaho, or Little Stabbing Chief, his X mark.

Chicohalico, or Turtle Shell, his X mark.

Pemexee, or The one that flies, his X mark.

Warriors and Braves.

Mucata Muhicatak, or the Black Hawk, his X mark.

Menacon, or The Lead, his X mark.

Kakekamah, or All Fish, his X mark.

Crepesh, or Water, his X mark.

Casamesan, or The one that flies too fast, his X mark.

Paunenane, or Paune Man, his X mark.

Wawapalosa, or White Walker, his X mark.

Wapaquat, or White Horse, his X mark.

Keokuck, or Walker, his X mark. [Not the principal chief of that name.]

Fox Chiefs.

Wapello, or The Prenee, his X mark.

Katemse, or The Eagle, his X mark.

Pawsheet, or The one who threw, his X mark.

Namer, or The one that has gone, his X mark.

Fox Braves and Warriors.

Allotoh, or Morgan, his X mark.
 Kakakew, or The Crow, his X mark.
 Shesveguanas, or Little Guard, his X mark.
 Kokaskee, his X mark.
 Takona, or The Prisoner, his X mark.
 Crakiskowa, or The one that meets, his X mark.
 Pametekeh, or The one that clouds about, his X mark.
 Tapokea, or The Light, his X mark.
 Moransot, or The one that has his hair pulled, his X mark.
 Kakenekapeo, or Setting in the Grass, his X mark.

Witnesses.

Jos. M. Street, United States Indian Agent, Prairie du Chien; Aby. [W.] Morgan, Colonel U. S. Infantry; J. Bliss, Bvt. Maj. 3d Infantry; Geo. A. McCall, Aidcamp; Saml. Whiteside; Felix St. Vrain, Indian Agent; John S. Great-house; M. K. Alexander; A. S. West; Antoine Le Claire, Interpreter; Joseph Danforth; Daniel S. Witter; Benj. F. Pike."

NOTE 5.

"H. Q. WESTERN DEPARTMENT,
 NASHVILLE, TENN. Aug. 10, 1831.

"SIR: I have the honor to report for the information of the President of the United States, the several depositions and original letters, to which I have hitherto referred, since the date of my last, of the first ultimo. In relation to the late disorderly conduct of the British band of Sac Indians, in attempting to retake and hold possession of the Rock River lands; and for this purpose to enter into alliances, and form combinations with the most disorderly of their red neighbors, against the States of Missouri and Illinois and the Territory of Michigan, viz:

"No. 1. The deposition of Rennah Wells, Samuel Wells, Benjamin Pike, Joseph Danforth, Moses Johnson, John Wells, John W. Spencer, Joseph H. Case, and Charles Case, sworn to and subscribed June 10th, 1831, before

WILLIAM T. BRASHER, J. P.

"No. 2. The deposition of John Wells, sworn to the 10th of June, 1831, before

JOEL WELLS, J. P.

"No. 3. The deposition of Rennah Wells, and Samuel Wells, sworn to and subscribed the 10th of June, 1831, before

JOEL WELLS, J. P.

"No. 4. The deposition of Nancy Wells and Nancy Thompson, sworn to and subscribed the 10th of June, 1831, before

WILLIAM T. BRASHER, J. P.

"No. 5. The deposition of Joseph Danforth, sworn to and subscribed the 10th of June, 1831, before

JOEL WELLS, J. P.

"No. 6. The copy of a letter for [from] P. L. Chouteau, Indian Agent for the Osage nation, to General William Clark, Superintendent of Indian affairs, dated the 27th of June, 1831.

"No. 7. A letter from Felix St. Vrain, agent for the Sac and Fox Indians, dated the 15th of June, 1831.

"No. 8. A letter from Colonel Henry Gratiot, sub-agent for the Winnebago Indians, dated the 11th of June, 1831.

"No. 9. A letter from Colonel Henry Gratiot, sub-agent for the Winnebago Indians, dated the 22d of June, 1831, with a copy of a communication from John Dixon to J. G. Soulard, dated the 17th of June, 1831.

"No. 10. A letter from Colonel Henry Gratiot, dated 1st July, 1831, enclosing a talk, or communication, signed by some of the chiefs of the Winnebago nation of his sub-agency."

"These depositions numbered one to five inclusively, and which are in substance similar to those on which Governor Reynolds's communication of the 29th of May last was based, and which he promised to forward to the War Department, sufficiently establish the facts of the return of the British band of Sac Indians to the place of their former residence on Rock river, after the lands had been sold, surveyed, and in part inhabited by several of these deponents; and the hostile conduct of this band with determined purpose forcibly to hold those lands, in violation

of the several treaties of 1804, 1816, and 1825. The second article of the last mentioned treaty, clearly shows that the Sac and Fox Indians have no claim to any lands whatsoever east of the Mississippi river, and it puts an end to all doubt or cavil that might possibly arise under the seventh article of the treaty of 1804; inasmuch as, by the aforesaid second article of treaty of 1825, the Sac and Fox Indians expressly relinquished all their claims to land east of the Mississippi river. The enclosed No. 6 copy of a letter from Colonel P. L. Chouteau, U. S. agent for the Osage Indians, to General Clark, with enclosure No. 7, a letter from Felix St. Vrain, taken in connection with the other letters herewith, Nos. 8, 9, and 10, together with the enclosed depositions, established, as clearly as could be desired, the long continued restlessness and enmity of this band of Sac Indians against the United States, as well as the great exertions and systematic efforts on the part of the offenders, to organize an opposition, as formidable as the Indians near us have ever wielded against us when aided by the forces of England, as in 1812 and 1813, for their object was, as extravagant as it may seem, to make a simultaneous attack upon, and break up the whole line of frontier settlements from Detroit along our western border to the Sabine or Texas. Long as I have known our southern and western Indians, and often as I have witnessed their lamentable ignorance of our strength, and of the utter impossibility of their affecting, without the aid of a civilized power, any thing like a formidable array of force against us, I found among the Winnebago and Sac Indians, a still greater degree of ignorance and arrogance and stupidity.

“The reports which first reached me, of the Sac Indians having sent a deputation to the Osage and nations to the south west as far as Texas, with a view to invoke their aid in a war against the United States, seemed too extravagant to merit the least notice. Nor did I place any reliance on the report, until it was confirmed by the evidence of their interpreters and traders, with the assurance of Col. Gratiot and other persons long acquainted with those Indians; that they frequently indulge in the habit of boasting, that they have always beaten our troops in battle, often when their number were much

inferior to ours ; and that they believed that more red men can be brought out against us than we can oppose to them white men.

“ This impression is of course confined to the Indians who have never visited the interior of our middle and eastern states. Those who have visited the city of Washington, are generally better informed ; but these have not that influence among their more savage brethren, which superior information would seem to entitle them to ; and they are, moreover, much influenced in their views and policy by the prevailing impression, that, let the Indians do what they may towards us in violation of existing treaties, they have nothing to do but to sue for peace whenever they please, and by a new treaty, give us satisfaction, and obtain for themselves rations, presents, annuities, &c.

“ I take this occasion to remark, that, though satisfied of the necessity of my movement, and of the employment, under the circumstances of the case, of the volunteers called for, even whilst without definite information as to the extent of the arrangements by the Sac Indians ; to obtain the assistance of their old brother warriors, who served with them under Tecumseh, in the years 1812 and 1813, the information obtained by me at Rock Island in the early part of the month of June, and more especially that which I enclose herewith, convinced me that without the increased force brought out by Gov. Reynolds, the lives of many of our frontier families would in all probability have been lost in an Indian war, in that quarter, before the close of the present summer. If my measures shall have contributed to arrest a calamity so much and so justly to be deprecated, I shall rejoice at the result, inasmuch as I have acted in accordance with a maxim which has borne me through the most difficult service. I have hitherto encountered the maxim which requires that in preparing against Indian or other foes, we should rely for success mainly on our own strength and vigilance, rather than upon the supposed feebleness of our adversary.

“ I have delayed this report in expectation of receiving and forwarding with the enclosed, some additional statements of facts designating more particularly the different notions or

tricks of Indians, applied to, or engaged by the Sac deputation, but the last mail from the west having brought me nothing upon this subject, I deem it proper to make no further delay.

“All which is respectfully submitted,

(Signed)

“E. P. GAINES,

“Major General by Bt. Commanding.”

The following is the substance of the depositions of sundry citizens of the Rock river settlement, taken before William Brasher, J. P. and Joel Wells, J. P. on the 10th of June, 1831.

“1. John Wells, John W. Spencer, Jonah H. Case, Rennah Wells, Samuel Wells, Benjamin T. Pike, Joseph Danforth, and Moses Johnson, before William Brasher, J. P., swore that the Sac Indians, did through the last year repeatedly threaten to kill them for being on their ground, and acted in the most outrageous manner, threw down their fences, burnt or destroyed their rails, turned horses into their corn-fields, and almost destroyed their crops, stole their potatoes, killed and ate their hogs, shot arrows into their cattle, and put out their eyes, thereby rendering them useless to the owners, saying the land was theirs, and that they had not sold it. In April they ordered the deponents to leave their houses, and turned from fifty to one hundred horses into one man's wheat field, threatening that the fields should not be reaped, although the owners should plough them, and although said owners had purchased the land of the United States government. The Indians also leveled deadly weapons at the citizens, and on some occasions hurt some of the said citizens, for attempting to prevent the destruction of their property. Also that the Indians stole their horses, some of which were returned by the agent six or eight months after, and in a miserable condition; others were never heard of again. Nearly fifty Indians headed by their notorious war chief, all armed and equipped for war, came to the house of Rennah Wells, and ordered him to be off, or they would kill him, which, for the safety of his family, he obeyed. They then went to another house, rolled out a barrel of whisky, and destroyed it, as well as committing many other outrages, to the knowledge of the deponents.

"2. John Wells, before Joel Wells, J. P., swore, That on the 30th of September, 1830, he saw two Sac Indians throwing down his fence, who said they were doing it for the purpose of going through, in which they persisted although forbidden by the owner, and when the owner attempted to prevent them, one of them made a pass at him with his fist, and drew his knife on him.

"3. Rennah and Samuel Wells, before Joel Wells, J. P., swore, That on the 29th of May, a party of Sac Indians, calling themselves chiefs, with Black Hawk at their head, came to the house of Rennah Wells, near the mouth of Rock River, and said that he must let the squaws cultivate his field, which Wells refusing, they became much displeased, and told him to go off; upon Wells's refusal they went away. That on the next day the same chiefs, with about fifty warriors, came, armed, and told Wells that he must move, or they would cut the throats of himself and family, and making motions to that effect, upon which said Wells told them that he would take counsel, and tell them at three o'clock the next day what would be his determination. They consented, and went away; at the appointed time they returned, and told Wells that he must go off; which he accordingly did, leaving all his possessions to the Indians.

"4. Nancy Thompson, and Nancy Wells, before W. J. Brasher, swore, That in October, 1830, two Indians, residing in the village forty or fifty miles above the mouth of Rock River, and called Sacs or Winnebagoes, came to the house of Rennah Wells, and commenced chasing some sheep, as if they would kill them; those Indians were ordered to desist, upon which they drew their knives and made at the women, who being alarmed, called for assistance, Samuel Wells being sick in the house at the time, ran out with a pitch-fork, and the Indians pursued no farther. London L. Case heard the alarm given, and joined. The Indians then returned to the river bank eighty or one hundred yards distant; when Case, thinking they were still in pursuit of the sheep, went to ascertain the truth, and coming near the Indians they wounded him severely in three places with a knife and tomahawk.

"5. Joseph Danforth, before Joel Wells, J. P., swore,

That he saw Sacs at a fence belonging to John Wells, who forbid them going through, when they continued throwing down the fence. Wells attempted to prevent them, when one of the Indians struck him with his fist, and drew his knife; Danforth got a stick, and the Indians making several attempts towards Danforth, he (Danforth) knocked one of them down with his stick. The Indian rose several times and made at Danforth with his knife, and finally deserted the ground, leaving his knife.

The above is the substance of the depositions above mentioned.

NOTE 6.

“Whereas, a treaty between the United States of America and the Winnebago nation of Indians, was made and concluded at Fort Armstrong, in the State of Illinois, on the fifteenth day of September, one thousand eight hundred and thirty-two, by Winfield Scott and John Reynolds, Commissioners on the part of the United States, and certain Chiefs, Headmen, and Warriors of the Winnebago nation, on the part of the said nation, which treaty is in the words following, to wit:

“Articles of a treaty made and concluded at Fort Armstrong, Rock Island, Illinois, between the United States of America, by their Commissioners, Major General Winfield Scott, of the United States’ Army, and his Excellency John Reynolds, Governor of the State of Illinois, and the Winnebago nation of Indians, represented in general Council by the undersigned Chiefs, Headmen, and Warriors.

“ART. I. The Winnebago nation hereby cede to the United States, forever, all the lands to which said nation have title or claim, lying to the south and east of the Wisconsin river, and the Fox river of Green Bay; bounded as follows, viz: beginning at the mouth of Pee-kee-tol-a-ka river; thence, up Rock River to its source; thence, with a line dividing the Winnebago nation from other Indians east of the Winnebago lake, to the Grand Chute; thence, up Fox river to the Winnebago lake, and with the northwestern shore of said lake, to

the inlet of Fox River; thence up said river to lake Puck-away, and with the eastern shore of the same to its most south easterly bend; thence with the line of purchase made of the Winnebago nation, by the treaty at Prairie du Chien, the first day of August, one thousand eight hundred and twenty-nine, to the place of beginning.

“ART. II. In part consideration of the above cession, it is hereby stipulated and agreed, that the United States grant to the Winnebago nation, to be held as other Indian lands are held, that part of the tract of country on the west side of the Mississippi, known, at present, as the neutral ground, embraced within the following limits, viz: beginning on the west bank of the Mississippi river, twenty miles above the mouth of the upper Ioway river, where the line of the lands purchased of the Sioux Indians, as described in the third article of the treaty of Prairie du Chien, of the fifteenth day of July, one thousand eight hundred and thirty, begins; thence with said line, as surveyed and marked, to the eastern branch of the Red Cedar creek; thence down said creek, forty miles, in a straight line, but following its windings, to the line of purchase, made of the Sac and Fox tribe of Indians, as designated in the second article of the before recited treaty; and thence along the southern line of said last mentioned purchase, to the Mississippi, at the point marked by the surveyor, appointed by the President of the United States, on the margin of said river; and thence up said river to the place of beginning. The exchange of the two tracts of country to take place on or before the first day of June next; that is to say, on or before that day, all the Winnebagoes now residing within the country ceded by them as above, shall leave the said country, when and not before, they shall be allowed to enter upon the country granted by the United States, in exchange.

“ART. III. But, as the country hereby ceded by the Winnebago nation is more extensive and valuable than that given by the United States in exchange; it is further stipulated and agreed, that the United States pay to the Winnebago nation, annually, for twenty-seven successive years, the first payment to be made in September of the next year, the sum of ten thousand dollars in specie; which sum shall be paid to

the said nation at Prairie du Chien and Fort Winnebago, in sums proportional to the numbers residing most conveniently to those places respectively.

“ART. IV. It is further stipulated and agreed, that the United States shall erect a suitable building, or buildings, with a garden or field attached, somewhere near Fort Crawford, or Prairie du Chien, and establish and maintain therein, for the term of twenty-seven years, a school for the education, including clothing, board and lodging, of such Winnebago children as may be voluntarily sent to it; the school to be conducted by two or more teachers, male and female, and the said children to be taught reading, writing, arithmetic, gardening, agriculture, carding, spinning, weaving; and sewing, according to their ages and sexes, and such other branches of useful knowledge as the President of the United States may prescribe; Provided, That the annual cost of the school shall not exceed the sum of three thousand dollars. And, in order that the said school may be productive of the greatest benefit to the Winnebago nation, it is hereby subjected to the visits and inspections of his Excellency the Governor of the State of Illinois for the time being; the United States’ General Superintendents of Indian affairs; of the United States’ agents who may be appointed to reside among the Winnebago Indians, and of an officer of the United States’ Army, who may be of, or above the rank of Major: Provided that the commanding officer of Fort Crawford shall make such visits and inspections frequently, although of an inferior rank.

“ART. V. And the United States further agree to make to the said nation of Winnebago Indians the following allowances, for the period of twenty-seven years, in addition to the considerations hereinbefore stipulated; that is to say; for the support of six agriculturists, and the purchase of twelve yokes of oxen, ploughs and other agricultural implements, a sum not exceeding two thousand five hundred dollars per annum; to the Rock River band of Winnebagoes, one thousand five hundred pounds of tobacco, per annum; for the services and attendance of a physician at Prairie du Chien, and of one at Fort Winnebago, each, two hundred dollars per annum.

“ART. VI. It is further agreed that the United States

remove and maintain, within the limits prescribed in this treaty, for the occupation of the Winnebagoes, the blacksmith's shop, with the necessary tools, iron, and steel heretofore allowed to the Winnebagoes, on the waters of the Rock River, by the third article of the treaty made with the Winnebago nation, at Prairie du Chien, on the first day of August, one thousand eight hundred and twenty-nine.

"ART. VII. And it is further stipulated and agreed by the United States, that there shall be allowed and issued to the Winnebagoes, required by the terms of this treaty to remove within their new limits, soldiers' rations of bread and meat, for thirty days: Provided, that the whole number of such rations shall not exceed sixty thousand.

"ART. VIII. The United States, at the request of the Winnebago nation of Indians, aforesaid, further agree to pay, to the following named persons, the sums set opposite their names respectively, viz:

"To Joseph Ogee, two hundred and two dollars and fifty cents;

"To William Wallace, four hundred dollars, and

"To John Dougherty, four hundred and eighty dollars; amounting in all, to one thousand and eighty-two dollars and fifty cents, which sum is in full satisfaction of the claims brought by said persons against said Indians, and by them acknowledged to be justly due.

"ART. IX. On demand of the United States' Commissioners, it is expressly stipulated and agreed, that the Winnebago nation shall promptly seize and deliver up to the commanding officer of some United States' military post, to be dealt with according to law, the following individual Winnebagoes, viz: Koo-zee-ray-Kaw, Moy-che-nun-Kaw, Tshik-o-ke-maw-kaw, Ah-hun-see-Kaw, and Waw-zee-ree-kay-hee-wee-kaw, who are accused of murdering, or of being concerned in the murdering of certain American citizens, at or near the Blue Mounds, in the territory of Michigan; Nau-saw-nay-he-kaw, and Toag-ra-naw-koo-ray-see-ray-kaw; who are accused of murdering or of being concerned in murdering, one or more American citizens, at or near Kellogg's Grove, in the State of Illinois; and also Waw-kee-aun-shaw and his

son who wounded, in attempting to kill, an American soldier, at or near lake Kosh-ke-nong, in the said territory; all of which offences were committed in the course of the past spring and summer. And till these several stipulations are faithfully complied with by the Winnebago nation, it is further agreed that the payment of the annuity of ten thousand dollars, secured by this treaty, shall be suspended.

“ART. X. At the special request of the Winnebago nation, the United States agree to grant, by patent, in fee simple, to the following named persons, all of whom are Winnebagoes by blood, lands as follows: To Pierre Paquette, three sections; to Pierre Paquette, junior; one section, to Therese Paquette, one section; The lands to be designated under the direction of the President of the United States, within the country ceded by the Winnebago nation.

“ART. XI. In order to prevent misapprehensions that might disturb peace and friendship between the parties to this treaty, it is expressly understood that no band or party of Winnebagoes shall reside, plant, fish, or hunt after the first day of June next, on any portion of the country herein ceded to the United States.

“ART. XII. This treaty shall be obligatory on the contracting parties, after it shall be ratified by the President and Senate of the United States.

“Done at Fort Armstrong, Rock Island, Illinois, this fifteenth day of September, one thousand eight hundred and thirty-two.

“WINFIELD SCOTT,
“JOHN REYNOLDS.

Prairie du Chien Deputation.

Tshee-o-nuzh-ee-kaw, War Chief, (Kar-ray-mau-nee) his x mark.

Wau-kaun-hah-kaw, or Snake Skin, (Day-kan-ray) his x mark.

Khay-rah-tshoan-saip-kaw, or Black Hawk, his x mark.

Wau-kaun-kaw, or Snake, his x mark.

Sau-sau-mau-nee-kaw, or He who walks naked, his x mark.

Hoantsh-skaw-skaw, or White Bear, his x mark.

Hoo-tshoap-kaw, or Four Legs, his x mark.

Mau-hee-her-kar-rah, or Flying Cloud, son of Dog Head, his x mark.

Tshah-shee-rah-wau-kaw, or he who takes the leg of a deer in his mouth, his x mark.

Mau-kee-wuk-kaw, or Cloudy, his x mark.

Ho-rah-paw-kaw, or Eagle Head, his x mark.

Hash-kay-ray-kaw, or Fire Holder, his x mark.

Eezhook-hat-tay-kaw, or Big Gun, his x mark.

Mau-wau-ruck, or The Muddy, his x mark.

Mau-shoatsh-kaw, or Blue Earth, his x mark.

Wee-tshah-un-kuk, or Forked Tail, his x mark.

Ko-ro-ko-ro-he-kaw, or Bell, his x mark.

Haun-heigh-kee-paw-kaw, or The Night that meets, his x mark.

Fort Winnebago Deputation.

Hee-tshah-wau-saip-skaw-skaw, or White War Eagle, Dekaw-ray sr. his x mark.

Hoo-wau-nee-kaw, or Little Elk, (orator) one of the Kay-ramen-nees, his x mark.

Wau-kaun-tshah-hay-ree-kaw, or Roaring Thunder, Four legs Nephew, his x mark.

Mau-nah-pey-kaw, or Soldier, (Black Wolf's son) his x mark.

Wau-kaun-tsha-ween-kaw, or Whirling Thunder, his x mark.

Wau-nee-ho-no-nik, or Little Walker, son of Fire Brand, his x mark.

To-shun-uk-ho-nik, or Little Otter, son of Sweet Corn, his x mark.

Tshah-tshun-hat-tay-kaw, or Big Wave, son of Clear Sky, his x mark.

Rock River Deputation.

Kau-ree-kaw-see-kaw, White Crow, (the blind) his x mark.

Mo-rah-tshay-kaw, or Little Priest, his x mark.

Mau-nah-pey-kaw, or Soldier, his x mark.

Ho-rah-hoank-kaw, or War Eagle, his x mark.

Nautsh-kay-peen-kaw, or Good Heart, his x mark.

Keesh-koo-kaw, his x mark.

Wee-tshun-kaw, or Goose, his x mark.

Wau-kaun-nig-ee-nik, or Little Snake, his x mark.
 Hoo-way-skaw, or White Elk, his x mark.
 Hay-noamp-kaw, or Two Horns, his x mark.
 Ee-nee-wonk-shik-kaw, or Stone Man, his x mark.

Signed in presence of,

R. Bache, Captain Ord. Secretary to the Commission.
 Jos. M. Street, United States Indian Agent.
 John H. Kinzie; Sub Agt. Indian Affairs.
 Abm. Eustis.
 H. Dodge, Major U. S. Rangers.
 Alexr. R. Thompson, Major United States Army.
 William [S.] Harney, Capt. 1st Infantry.
 E. Kirby, Paymaster United States Army.
 Albion T. Crow.
 John Marsh.
 Pierre Paquette, Interpreter, his x mark.
 P. H. Galt, Assistant Adjutant General.
 S. W. Wilson.
 Benj. F. Pike.
 J. B. F. Russell, Captain 5th Infantry.
 S. Johnson, Captain 2d Infantry.
 John Clitz, Adj. 2d Infantry.
 Jno. Pickell, Lieutenant 4th Artillery.
 A. Drane, A. Qr. U. S. A.
 J. R. Smith, 1st Lieutenant 2d Infantry.
 H. Day, Lieutenant 2d Infantry.
 William Maynadier, Lieutenant and A. D. C.
 P. G. Hambaugh.
 S. Burbank, Lieutenant 1st Infantry.
 J. H. Prentiss, Lieutenant 1st Artillery.
 E. Rose, Lieutenant 3d Artillery.
 L. J. Beall, Lieutenant 1st Infantry.
 Antoine Le Claire."

"Now, therefore, be it known that I, Andrew Jackson, President of the United States of America, having seen and considered said Treaty, do, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, as expressed by their resolution of the ninth

instant, accept, ratify and confirm the same, and every clause and article thereof.

“In testimony whereof, I have caused the seal of the United States to be hereunto affixed, having signed the same with my hand.

“Done at the City of Washington, this thirteenth day of February, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and thirty-three, and of the Independence of the United States, the fifty-seventh.

“ANDREW JACKSON.

“By the President :

“EDW. LIVINGSTON, Secretary of State.”

NOTE 7.

Whereas a treaty, between the United States of America and the confederated tribes of Sac and Fox Indians, was made and concluded at Fort Armstrong, in the State of Illinois, on the twenty-first day of September, one thousand eight hundred and thirty-two, by Winfield Scott, and John Reynolds, Commissioners on the part of the United States, and certain Chiefs, Headmen and Warriors of the confederated tribes of Sac and Fox Indians, on the part of said tribes, which Treaty is in the words following, to wit:

“Articles of a Treaty of peace, friendship and cession, concluded at Fort Armstrong, Rock Island, Illinois, between the United States of America, by their Commissioners, Major General Winfield Scott, of the United States Army, and his Excellency John Reynolds, Governor of the State of Illinois, and the confederated tribes of Sac and Fox Indians, represented in general Council, by the undersigned Chiefs, Headmen and Warriors.

“Whereas, under certain lawless and desperate leaders, a formidable band, constituting a large portion of the Sac and Fox nation, left their country in April last, and, in violation of treaties, commenced an unprovoked war upon unsuspecting and defenceless citizens of the United States, sparing neither age nor sex; and whereas, the United States, at a great expense

of treasure have subdued the said hostile band, killing or capturing all its principal chiefs and warriors—the said States, partly as indemnity for the expense incurred, and partly to secure the future tranquility of the invaded frontier, demand of the said tribes, to the use of the United States, a cession of a tract of the Sac and Fox country, bordering on said frontier, more than proportional to the numbers of the hostile band who have been so conquered and subdued.

“ART. I. Accordingly the confederated tribes of Sacs and Foxes hereby cede to the United States forever, all the lands to which the said tribes have title, or claim, (with the exception of the reservation hereinafter made,) included within the following bounds, to wit: Beginning on the Mississippi river, at the point where the Sac and Fox northern boundary line as established by the second article of the treaty of Prairie du Chien, of the fifteenth of July, one thousand eight hundred and thirty, strikes said river; thence, up said boundary line to a point fifty miles from the Mississippi, measured on said line: thence, in a right line to the nearest point on the Red Cedar of the Ioway, forty miles from the Mississippi river; thence, in a right line to a point in the northern boundary line of the State of Missouri, fifty miles, measured on said boundary, from the Mississippi river; thence, by the last mentioned boundary to the Mississippi river, and by the western shore of said river to the place of beginning. And the said confederated tribes of Sacs and Foxes hereby stipulate and agree to remove from the lands herein ceded to the United States, on or before the first day of June next; and, in order to prevent any future misunderstanding, it is expressly understood, that no band or party of the Sac or Fox tribes shall reside, plant, fish, or hunt on any portion of the ceded country after the period just mentioned.

“ART. II. Out of the cession made in the preceding article, the United States agree to a reservation for the use of the said confederated tribes, of a tract of land containing four hundred square miles, to be laid off under the directions of the President of the U. States, from the boundary line crossing the Ioway river, in such manner that nearly an equal portion of the reservation may be on both sides of said river,

and extending downwards, so as to include Keokuck's principal village on its right bank, which village is about twelve miles from the Mississippi river.

"ART. III. In consideration of the great extent of the foregoing cession the United States stipulate and agree to pay to the said confederated tribes, annually, for thirty successive years, the first payment to be made in September of the next year, the sum of twenty thousand dollars in specie.

"ART. IV. It is further agreed that the United States shall establish and maintain within the limits, and for the use and benefit of the Sacs and Foxes, for the period of thirty years, one additional black and gun smith shop, with the necessary tools, iron and steel, and finally make a yearly allowance for the same period, to the said tribes, of forty kegs of tobacco, and forty barrels of salt, to be delivered at the mouth of the Ioway river.

"ART. V. The United States, at the earnest request of the said confederated tribes, further agree to pay to Farnham and Davenport, Indian traders at Rock Island, the sum of forty thousand dollars without interest, which sum will be in full satisfaction of the claims of the said traders against the said tribes, and by the latter was, on the tenth day of July, one thousand eight hundred and thirty-one, acknowledged to be justly due, for articles of necessity, furnished in the course of the seven preceding years, in an instrument of writing of said date, duly signed by the Chiefs and Headmen of said tribes, and certified by the late Felix St. Vrain, United States' Agent, and Antoine Le Claire, United States' Interpreter, both for the said tribes.

"ART. VI. At the special request of the said confederated tribes, the United States agree to grant, by patent, in fee simple, to Antoine Le Claire, Interpreter, a part Indian, one section of land opposite Rock Island, and one section at the head of the first rapids above said Island, within the country herein ceded by the Sacs and Foxes.

"ART. VII. Trusting to the good faith of the neutral bands of Sacs and Foxes, the United States have already delivered up to those bands the great mass of prisoners made in the course of the war by the United States, and promise to

use their influence to procure the delivery of other Sacs and Foxes, who may still be prisoners in the hands of a band of Sioux Indians, the friends of the United States; but the following named prisoners of war, now in confinement, who were Chiefs and Headmen, shall be held as hostages for the future good conduct of the late hostile bands, during the pleasure of the President of the United States, viz. — Muk-ka-ta-mish-a-ka-kaik (or Black Hawk) and his two sons; Wau-ba-kee-shik (the Prophet) his brother and two sons; Napope; We-sheet Ioway; Pamaho; and Cha-kee-pa-shi-pa-ho (the little stabbing Chief.)

“ART. VIII. And it is further stipulated and agreed between the parties to this treaty, that there shall never be allowed in the confederated Sac and Fox nation, any separate band, or village, under any chief or warrior of the late hostile bands; but that the remnant of the said hostile bands shall be divided among the neutral bands of the said tribes according to blood — the Sacs among the Sacs, and the Foxes among the Foxes.

“ART. IX. In consideration of the premises, peace and friendship are declared, and shall be perpetually maintained between the United States and the whole confederated Sac and Fox nation, excepting from the latter the hostages before mentioned.

“ART. X. The United States, besides the presents delivered at the signing of this treaty, wishing to give a striking evidence of their mercy and liberality, will immediately cause to be issued to the said confederated tribes, principally for the use of the Sac and Fox women and children, whose husbands, fathers and brothers, have been killed in the late war, and generally for the use of the whole confederated tribes, articles of subsistence as follows: — thirty-five beef cattle; twelve bushels of salt; thirty barrels of pork; and fifty barrels of flour, and cause to be delivered for the same purposes, in the month of April next, at the mouth of the lower Ioway, six thousand bushels of maize or Indian corn.

“ART. XI. At the request of the said confederated tribes, it is agreed that a suitable present shall be made to them on their pointing out to any United States agent, authorized

for the purpose, the position or positions of one or more mines, supposed by the said tribes to be of a metal more valuable than lead or iron.

“ART. XII. This treaty shall take effect and be obligatory on the contracting parties, as soon as the same shall be ratified by the President of the United States, by and with the consent of the Senate thereof.

“Done at Fort Armstrong, Rock Island, Illinois, this twenty-first day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and thirty-two, and of the Independence of the United States the fifty-seventh.

“WINFIELD SCOTT,
“JOHN REYNOLDS.”

Sacs.

Kee-o-kuck, or He who has been every where, his X mark.

Pa-she-pa-ho, or the Stabber, his X mark.

Pia-tshe-noay, or the Noise Maker, his X mark.

Wawk-kum-mee, or Clear Water, his X mark.

O-sow-wish-kan-no, or Yellow Bird, his X mark.

Pa-ca-to-kee, or Wounded Lip, his X mark.

Winne-wun-quai-saat, or the Terror of Men, his X mark.

Mau-noa-tuck, or He who controls many, his X mark.

Wau-we-au-tun, or the Curling Wave, his X mark.

Foxes.

Wau-pel-la, or He who is painted white, his X mark.

Tay-wee-mau, or Medicine Man, (Strawberry) his X mark.

Pow-sheek, or the Roused Bear, his X mark.

An-nau-mee, or the Running Fox, his X mark.

Ma-tow-e-qua, or the Jealous Woman, his X mark.

Mee-shee-wau-quaw, or the Dried Tree, his X mark.

May-kee-sa-mau-ker, or the Wampum Fish, his X mark.

Chaw-co-saut, or the Prowler, his X mark.

Kaw-kaw-kee, or the Crow, his X mark.

Mau-que-tee, or the Bald Eagle, his X mark.

Ma-she-na, or Cross Man, his X mark.

Kaw-kaw-ke-moute, or the Pouch, (running bear) his X mark.

Wee-she-kaw-ka-skuck, or He who steps firmly, his X mark.

Wee-ca-ma, or Good Fish, his x mark.
 Paw-qu-a-nuey, or the Runner, his x mark.
 Ma-hua-wai-be, or Wolf Skin, his x mark.
 Mis-see-quaw-kaw, or Hairy Neck, his x mark.
 Waw-pee-shaw-kaw, or White Skin, his x mark.
 Mash-shen-waw-pee-teh, or Broken Tooth, his x mark.
 Nau-nah-que-kee-she-ko, or Between Two Days, his x mark.
 Paw-puck-ka-kaw, or Stealing Fox, his x mark.
 Tay-e-sheek, or the Falling Bear, his x mark.
 Wau-pee-maw-ker, or the White Loon, his x mark.
 Wau-co-see-nee-me, or Fox Man, his x mark.

“In presence of R. Bache, Cap. Ord. Sec. to the Commission; Abm. Eustis; Alex. Cummings, Lt. Col. 2d Infantry; Alex. R. Thompson, Major U. S. Army; B. Riley, Major U. S. Army; H. Dodge, Major; W. Campbell; Hy. Wilson, Major 4th U. S. Infantry; Donald Ward; Thos. Black Wolf; Sexton G. Frazer; P. H. Galt, Ast. Adj. Gen.; Benj. F. Pike; Wm. Henry; James Craig; John Aukenev; J. B. F. Russell; Isaac Chambers; John Clitz, Adj. Inf. John Pickell, Lieut. 4th Arty.; A. G. Miller, Lt. 1st Inf.; Geo. Davenport, Asst. Q. Mas. Gen. Ill. mil.; A. Drane, Æneas Mackay, Capt. U. S. Army; I. R. Smith, 1st Lt. 2d Inf.; Wm. Maynadier, Lt. and A. D. C.; I. L. Gallagher, 1st Lt. A. C. S.; N. B. Bennet, Lt. 3d Arty.; Horatio A. Wilson, Lt. 4th Arty.; H. Day, Lt. 2d Inf.; Jas. W. Penrose, Lt. 2d Infy.; J. E. Johnston, Lt. 4th Arty.; S. Burbank, Lt. 1st Infy.; I. H. Prentiss, Lt. 1st Arty.; L. I. Beale, Lt. 1st Infy.; Addison Philleo; Thomas L. Alexander, Lt. 6th Infy.; Horace Beale, Actg. Surg. U. S. Army; Oliver W. Kellogg; Jona. Leighton, Actg. Surg. U. S. Army; Robt. C. Buchanan, Lt. 4th Infy.; Jas. S. Williams, Lt. 6th Infy.; John W. Spencer; Antoine Le Claire, Interpreter.

“Now therefore, be it known, that I, Andrew Jackson, President of the United States of America, having seen and considered said Treaty, do, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, as expressed by their Resolution of the ninth instant, accept, ratify and confirm the same and every clause and article thereof.

"In testimony whereof, I have caused the seal of the United States to be hereunto affixed, having signed the same with my hand.

"Done at the City of Washington, this thirteenth day of February in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and thirty-three, and of the Independence of the United States the fifty-seventh.

"ANDREW JACKSON.

"By the President:

"Edw. Livingston, Secretary of State."

NOTE 8.

"Articles of a treaty made at St. Louis, in the district of Louisiana, between William Henry Harrison, Governor of the Indiana Territory and of the District of Louisiana, Superintendent of Indian affairs for the Territory and District, and Commissioner Plenipotentiary of the United States, for concluding any treaty or treaties which may be found necessary, with any of the north-western tribes of Indians, of the one part, and the chiefs and head men of the united Sac and Fox tribes of Indians of the other part.

"ART. I. The United States receive the United Sac and Fox tribes into their friendship and protection, and the said tribes agree to consider themselves under the protection of the United States, and no other power whatsoever.

"ART. II. The general boundary line between the lands of the United States and of the said Indian tribes, shall be as follows, to wit: Beginning on a point on the Missouri river, opposite to the mouth of the Gasconade river, thence in a direct course, so as to strike the river Jefferson at a distance of thirty miles from its mouth, and down the said Jefferson, to the Mississippi, thence up the Mississippi, to the mouth of the Ouisconsin river, and up the same, to a point which shall be thirty-six miles in a direct line from the mouth of said river; thence by a direct line to a point where the Fox river, a branch of the Illinois, leaves the small lake called Lakacgan; thence down the Fox river, to the Illinois river, and down the same to the Mississippi. And the said tribes, for and in consideration of the friendship and protection of the United States,

which is now extended to them, and of goods to the value of two thousand two hundred and thirty-four dollars and fifty cents, which are now delivered, and of the annuity hereinafter stipulated to be paid, do hereby cede and relinquish forever to the United States, all the lands included within the above described boundary.

“ART. III. In consideration of the cession and relinquishment of land made in the preceding article, the United States will deliver to the said tribes, at the town of St. Louis, or some other convenient place on the Mississippi, yearly and every year, goods suited to the circumstances of the Indians, of the value of one thousand dollars, six hundred of which are intended for the Sacs and four hundred for the Foxes, reckoning that value at the first cost of the goods in the city or place in the United States, where they shall be procured; and if the said tribes shall hereafter, at an annual delivery of the goods aforesaid, desire that a part of their annuity should be furnished in domestic animals, implements of husbandry, and other utensals (utensils) convenient for them, or in compensation to useful artificers who may reside with or near them, and be employed for their benefit; the same shall, at the subsequent annual delivery, be furnished accordingly.

“ART. IV. The United States will never interrupt the said tribes in the possession of the lands which they rightfully claim; but will, on the contrary, protect them in the quiet enjoyment of the same against their own citizens, and against all other white persons who may intrude upon them; and the said tribes do hereby engage that they will never sell their lands or any part thereof, to any sovereign power but the United States, nor to the citizens or subjects of any other sovereign power, nor to the citizens of the United States.

“ART. V. Lest the friendship which is now established between the United States and the said Indian tribes should be interrupted by the misconduct of individuals, it is hereby agreed, that for injuries done by individuals, no private revenge or retaliation shall take place, but instead thereof, complaints shall be made by the party injured to the other, by the said tribes, or either of them, to the superintendent of Indian affairs, or one of his deputies, and by the superintendent or

other person appointed by the president, to the chiefs of the said tribes; and it shall be the duty of the said chiefs, upon complaint being made as aforesaid, to deliver up the person or persons against whom the complaint is made, to the end that he or they may be punished agreeably to the laws of the State or Territory where the offence may have been committed; and in like manner, if any robbery, violence, or murder shall be committed on any Indian or Indians belonging to said tribes, or either of them, the person or persons so offending, shall be tried, and if found guilty, shall be punished in like manner, as if the injury had been done to a white man; and it is further agreed, that the chiefs of the said tribes, shall, to the utmost of their power, exert themselves to recover horses or other property which may be stolen from any citizen or citizens of the United States, by any individual or individuals of their tribes; and the property so recovered, shall be forthwith delivered to the superintendent, or other person authorized to receive it, that it may be restored to the owner, and in cases where the exertions of the chiefs shall be ineffectual in recovering the property stolen as aforesaid, if sufficient proof can be obtained that such property was actually stolen by any Indian or Indians belonging to the said tribes, or either of them, the United States may deduct from the annuity of the said tribes, a sum equal to the value of the property which has been stolen, and the United States hereby guaranty to any Indian or Indians of the said tribes, a full indemnification for any horses or other property which may be stolen from them, by any of their citizens; provided the property so stolen cannot be recovered, and that a sufficient proof is produced that it was actually stolen by a citizen of the United States.

“ART. VI. If any citizen of the United States, or other white person, should form a settlement upon lands which are the property of the Sac and Fox tribes, upon complaint being made thereof to the superintendent, or other person having charge of the affairs of the Indians, such intruder shall forthwith be removed.

“ART. VII. As long as the lands which are now ceded to the United States remain their property, the Indians belonging to the said tribes shall enjoy the privilege of living and hunting upon them.

“ART. VIII. As the laws of the United States regulating trade and intercourse with the Indian tribes are already extended to the country inhabited by the Sacs and Foxes, and as it is provided by those laws, that no person shall reside as a trader in the Indian country, without a license under the hand and seal of the superintendent of Indian affairs; or other person appointed for the purpose by the President, the said tribes do promise and agree that they will not suffer any trader to reside amongst them without such license, and that they will from time to time give notice to the superintendent, or to the agent for their tribes, of all the traders that may be in their country.

“ART. IX. In order to put a stop to the abuses and impositions which are practiced upon the said tribes by the private traders, the United States will, at a convenient time, establish a trading house or factory, where the individuals of said tribes can be supplied with goods at a more reasonable rate than they have been accustomed to procure them.

“ART. X. In order to evince the sincerity of their friendship and affection for the United States, and a respectful deference for their advice, by an act which will not only be acceptable to them, but to the common Father of all nations of the earth, the said tribes do hereby solemnly promise and agree, that they will put an end to the bloody war which has heretofore raged between their tribes and those of the Great and Little Osages; and for the purpose of burying the tomahawk, and renewing the friendly intercourse between themselves and the Osages, a meeting of their respective chiefs shall take place, at which, under the direction of the above named commissioner, or the agent of Indian affairs, residing at St. Louis, an adjustment of all their differences shall be made, and peace established upon a firm and lasting basis.

“ART. XI. As it is probable that the government of the United States will establish a military post at or near the mouth of the Wisconsin river; and as the land on the lower side of the river may not be suitable for that purpose, the said tribes hereby agree that a fort may be built either on the upper side of the Wisconsin, or on the right bank of the Mis-

issippi, as the one or the other may be found most convenient, and a tract of land not exceeding two miles square shall be given for that purpose; and the said tribes do further agree that they will, at all times, allow to traders and other persons traveling thro' their country, under the authority of the United States, a free and safe passage for themselves and their property of every description, and that for such passage they shall at no time, and on no account whatever, be subject to any toll or exaction.

"ART. XII. This treaty shall take effect, and be obligatory on the contracting parties, as soon as the same shall have been ratified by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate of the United States.

"ADDITIONAL ARTICLE. It is agreed that nothing in this treaty contained shall affect the claim of any individual or individuals, who may have obtained grants of land from the Spanish government; and which are not included within the general boundary line laid down in this treaty, provided that such grants have at any time been made known to the said tribes and recognized by them."

Ratified the 25th of February, 1805.

Recognitions of the preceding Treaty which was held at St. Louis 13th May, 1816.

Treaty with the Sacs of Rock River and the United States, by William Clark, Ninian Edwards and Auguste Chouteau.

[This appears to be a Treaty of amity, but the following article is considered proper to be inserted.]

"ART. I. The Sacs of Rock River, and the adjacent country, do hereby unconditionally assent to, recognize, re-establish, and confirm the treaty between the United States of America and the united tribes of Sacs and Foxes, which was concluded at St. Louis, on the 3d of November, 1804, as well as all other contracts and agreements heretofore made between the Sac tribe or nation and the United States."

NOTE 9.

"Treaty with the Sacs residing on Missouri river, by William Clark, Ninian Edwards and Auguste Chouteau, at Portage de Sioux, 13th Sept., 1815."

“ART. I. The undersigned chiefs and warriors, for themselves, and that portion of the Sacs which they represent, do hereby assent to the treaty between the United States of America, and the United tribes of Sacs and Foxes, which was concluded at St. Louis, on the 3d of November, 1804, and they moreover promise to do all in their power to re-establish and enforce the same.”

“Treaty with the Fox tribe, by William Clark, Ninian Edwards, and Auguste Chouteau.

“ART. IV. The Fox tribe or nation do hereby assent to, recognize, re-establish and confirm, the treaty of St. Louis, concluded on the 3d of November, 1804, to the full extent of their interest in the same, as well as all other contracts and agreements between the parties; and the United States promise to fulfil all the stipulations contained in the said treaty in favour of the Fox tribe or nation.”

“Treaty with the Sac and Fox tribes of Indians, concluded at the City of Washington, the 4th of August, 1824.

“To perpetuate peace and friendship between the United States and the Sac and Fox tribes or nations of Indians, and to remove all future cause of dissensions which may arise from undefined territorial boundaries, the President of the United States of America, by Wm. Clark, Superintendent of Indian affairs, and sole commissioner, specially appointed for that purpose, of the one part, and the undersigned chiefs and headmen of the Sac and Fox tribes or nations fully deputed to act for and in behalf of their said nations of the other part, have entered into the following articles and conditions, viz.

“ART. I. The Sac and Fox tribes or nations of Indians, by their depositions in council assembled, do hereby agree, in consideration of certain sums of moneys, &c., to be paid to the said Sac and Fox tribes, by the government of the U. States, as hereinafter stipulated, to cede and forever quit claim, and do, in behalf of their said tribes or nations, hereby cede, relinquish, and forever quit claim unto the United States, all right, title, interest, and claim to the lands which the said Sac and Fox tribes have or claim within the limits of the State of Missouri, which are situated, lying and being, between the Mississippi and Missouri rivers, and a line running from the Missouri

at the entrance of the Kansas river, north one hundred miles to the north-west corner of the State of Missouri, and from thence east of the Mississippi. It being understood, that the small tract of land lying between the rivers Des Moine and the Mississippi, and the section of the above line between the Mississippi and the Des Moine is intended for the use of the half breeds belonging to the Sac and Fox nations ; they holding it, however, by the same title, and in the same manner that other Indian titles are held.

“ART. II. The chiefs and head men who signed this convention, for themselves and in behalf of their tribes, do acknowledge the lands east and south of the lines described in the first article, so far as the Indians claimed the same, to belong to the United States, and that none of their tribes shall be permitted to settle or hunt upon any part of it, after the first day of January, 1826, without special permission from the Superintendent of Indian affairs.

“ART. III. It is hereby stipulated and agreed on the part of the United States, as a full consideration for the claims and lands ceded by the Sac and Fox tribes in the first article, there shall be paid to the Sac and Fox nations within the present year, one thousand dollars in cash or merchandise ; and, in addition to the annuities stipulated to be paid to the Sac and Fox tribes, by a former treaty, the United States do agree to pay to the said Sac tribe, five hundred dollars, and to the Fox tribe five hundred dollars, annually, for the term of ten succeeding years ; and at the request of the chiefs of the said Sac and Fox nations, the commissioner agrees to pay to Maurice Blondeau, a half breed Indian of the Fox tribe, the sum of five hundred dollars, it being a debt due by the said nation, to the aforesaid Blondeau for property taken from him during the late war.

“ART. IV. The United States engage to provide and support a blacksmith for the Sac and Fox nations, so long as the President of the United States may think proper, and to furnish the said nations with such farming utensils, and cattle, and to employ such persons to aid them in their agriculture, as the President may deem expedient.

“ART. V. The annuities stipulated by the third article

are to be paid either in money, merchandise, provisions, or domestic animals, at the option of the aforesaid tribes, and when the annuities, or part thereof is paid in merchandise, it is to be delivered to them at the first cost of the goods at St. Louis, free from cost of transportation.

“ART. VI. This treaty shall take effect and be obligatory upon the contracting parties so soon as the same shall be ratified by the President of the United States, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate thereof.

“Ratified the 18th of January, 1825.”

EDITOR'S APPENDIX

The original text has been followed herein, faithfully, with two or three exceptional typographical errors of so glaring a nature that their correction was made imperative, and with the further exceptional alterations demanded by the seven lines of Wakefield's "Errata," which close his narrative, and which have been omitted herein.

The type used in printing the book was found to be so excessively small that reading it placed a heavy tax upon the eyes, and for that reason the present volume has been printed from type large enough to be easily read. This very much needed enlargement has necessarily changed the pagination.

In some instances where Wakefield could not recall initials or Christian names, he supplied the omission with dashes, thus: — —. In a very few other instances he made errors in names. These have been supplied or corrected in the text between brackets, thus: []. In other instances where surnames alone were given, the christian names have been supplied in the notes and index.

The same may be said of some dates. In one or two such cases, where the proper name was not available to the editor until a very late moment, the index alone has been made to supply the correction. But it has been supplied. In two or three instances, brief explanations of names or events served a much better purpose by being placed in the index alone.

NOTES.

NOTE 1.—Stevens's "The Black Hawk War," 73 *et seq.*

The same Captain Lindsey mentioned on page 124 hereafter.

Movements of the militia from eastern Illinois are mentioned fully in the paper by Hon. H. W. Beckwith, number ten (10) Fergus Historical Series, page 47 *et seq.*

From Sangamon and Morgan counties in Illinois, a regiment of mounted volunteers, under command of Colonel Thomas M. Neale of Springfield, marched to Galena; but when that point had been reached, Red Bird, the moving spirit in the uprising, had surrendered and the regiment saw no service. Its movements, however, are to be found in an article written by Hon. William Thomas of Jacksonville, and published in the Jacksonville Journal of August 17, 1871.

The reason for the Winnebago War, so frequently attributed to brutality to certain squaws, by the whites, has not a shadow of foundation in fact.

NOTE 2.—The losses were two whites killed and four wounded, two mortally and two slightly.

Reports of losses by the Indians vary from seven to twelve killed, and many wounded.

NOTE 3.—Governor Cass was not present as intimated.

NOTE 4.—The number of men employed in the expedition was 600 regulars under General Henry Atkinson and about 130 militia from the lead mines under Captain Henry Dodge.

Samuel Whiteside, who was present at Galena at the time of the trouble, took command of another company of about the same strength as Dodge's company, and marched or ranged through the country to the north, emerging at Prairie du Chien.

A dispute had arisen as to whether Whiteside or Dodge should be given command of the militia, which was settled by giving each a company.

James M. Strode was captain of a company which remained at Galena doing guard duty.

NOTE 5.—Major Nathaniel Buckmaster, youngest child of a family of eight children, son of Nathaniel and Ann (Ward) Buckmaster, was born May 1, 1787, in Calvert County, Maryland, on a plantation owned by his parents, that extended to the shores of the Chesapeake Bay.

In 1796 the family moved to Frederick County, Virginia, on a farm about 30 miles from Charlestown.

In the year 1803 Nathaniel, then 16 years old, went to a place seven miles from Harper's Ferry, to live with his sister, Catherine Anderson, where he learned the trade of brick and stone mason.

In the spring of the year 1818, clad in knee-breeches, ruffled shirt, high stock, with shoes ornamented with great silver buckles, Nathaniel Buckmaster came to Edwardsville, Illinois, to seek his fortune, and verily, fortune seemed to be awaiting his arrival, for he was elected to represent Madison County in the Second General Assembly, which met at Vandalia, December 4, 1820.

In the year 1823 we find him sheriff of Madison County, which office he held for so long (in 1838 he was still in office) that finding no other means open to them to get him out of the office, the Whigs pushed through a constitutional amendment prohibiting a tenure of more than one term.

In 1832 he married, in Edwardsville, Miss Harriet Bartling, from which marriage four children were born, Virginia, Henry, Catherine, and Ellen.

The Black Hawk War coming on in April of that year, he enlisted early, and was second in command of the army, with the title Brigade Major. His record as major of a spy battalion in the campaign of 1831 against the same Indian had much to do with his advanced rank in this second campaign, and in his various books the "Old Ranger Governor" was fond of referring to "Buck," as he called him, as one of the few men who stuck to his colors from the first day of the first campaign to the last day of the last campaign. At the mouth of Fox River when the first levy of troops was mustered out, it was he who performed the function with the aid of Lieutenant Robert Anderson, of Fort Sumter memory, and he was the first to re-enlist.

As the departure of the troops for their homes left the frontiers entirely unprotected, he was made major of a battalion of spies, and, stationed at Fort Payne (now Naperville, Illinois), he cleared the country of every hostile Indian between Chicago and Ottawa.

In 1839-40 we find him Postmaster of Alton, and soon after he was made warden of the penitentiary there, then a position of high importance. He remained at Alton to the end of his life.

In the same year, 1840, his wife died at Alton, on the spot where stands the present depot of the C. & A. R. R. Co., and it is recorded of him as a remarkable incident for those days, that he never remarried.

In 1844, having for a long time interested himself in public transportation problems and ventures, he obtained the franchise for operating the "upper ferry," which he held during his lifetime, and after death it passed to his heirs.

On June 4, 1855, he died at his home, and was buried beside his wife in the Upper Alton cemetery. Major Buckmaster was essentially a business man. Transportation problems engaged most of his attention, either as the owner of ferries or builder of turnpikes and railroads, and for his enterprise, the State of Illinois is under lasting obligation.

We find him an incorporator of The Alton and Shawneetown Railroad Company, The Madison Railroad Company, and The Illinois and Pacific Railroad Company, in which Lyman Trumbull cooperated. He was president of The Alton Marine and Fire Insurance Company, as well as of the company which built the first plank road in Madison County.

As a builder he was famous, as many of the old-time Edwards County buildings, public and private, testify to this day. The old first brick jail and the hotel at Alton are of the number.

As sheriff of his county, he showed the goodness of his nature.

A part of his duty was to sell the lands of his county for delinquent taxes, which many persons who lost their money in the panic of 1837 were unable to pay. To them he opened his purse, saving their farms at an inconvenience almost calamitous to his own business interests. This explains, to a large degree, the inability of the Whigs to get him out of office.

In personal appearance he was an unusually handsome man, well dressed, with a fine physique and carriage, six feet tall, and to his last days active.

In politics he was a Jackson Democrat. In religion he was reared a Methodist, and during his business activities, he was never so busy as to be unable to pursue a close study of the bible.

NOTE 6.—Brigadier General Samuel Whiteside. The Whiteside family, a very numerous one, was among the first to settle permanently on Illinois soil. In the year 1793, William and John, brothers, and both soldiers in the Revolutionary War, settled in what is now Monroe County, on the road between Cahokia and Kaskaskia, about half-way between the present towns of Waterloo and Columbia. There William built a log fort, which became widely known as Whiteside's station.

In the year 1802 John, the father of Samuel Whiteside, moved to the Goshen settlement in Madison County and settled near Samuel Judy, whose wife was a sister

to Samuel Whiteside. The latter, with his brother Joel, afterward settled in the north-east part of the present township of Collinsville, and there Samuel made the first improvements on the Ridge prairie.

Samuel Whiteside was born in the State of North Carolina in the year 1783, and there remained with his father until the latter came to Illinois ten years later.

According to his grandson, J. D. Henderson, Samuel Whiteside married Nancy Miller just before moving to Madison County, which must have been in his twentieth year if true. But early marriages were characteristic of the young pioneer of those days, who so much needed a helpmeet to begin work at his "clearing." In Madison County, Samuel Whiteside lived until the last of his children had married, and his wife died in March, 1854. At that time, with his daughter Mrs. Henderson and her husband, he moved to a farm in Christian County, near Mt. Auburn, and there lived until his death, in June, 1866. He is buried in what is known as the "Old Hunter Cemetery."

During the Indian troubles of 1810, Samuel Whiteside, in command of a company of rangers, was almost constantly in the saddle. During that period, it was a common occurrence when tidings of a murder were received, to rendezvous at the nearest fort, organize a company and start in hasty pursuit of the murderers. It was customary to elect a captain and subordinate officers, and when the offenders had been brought to justice or escaped to other states, to disband. Hence it is that we see the name of Samuel Whiteside so many times in the early annals as captain of a company. By common consent, he became the leader in every important Indian pursuit or fight. Thus the War of 1812 with England coming closely upon the heels of the continued Indian disturbances, Samuel Whiteside was almost the first man to be appointed captain of a company of militia by Governor Edwards. In Campbell's notable battle just off Campbell's Island, near the present city of Moline, the company of Captain Samuel Whiteside took conspicuous part. The battle, which was fought from keel boats by the militia against the overwhelming land forces of British and Indians, among which Black Hawk was a conspicuous figure, was a bloody one, and well worth study by the student of Illinois history.

When peaceful times were restored, Samuel Whiteside turned to peaceful pursuits, and though nominally a farmer, much of his time was occupied with surveying large areas, two instances being the boundaries of the states of Illinois and Missouri.

When, in 1831, it became necessary for Governor Reynolds to send troops to the mouth of Rock River to drive Black Hawk and his band across the Mississippi River, General Whiteside was appointed major of a spy battalion.

That campaign was so successful, that when it became necessary in the following year for Governor Reynolds to pursue the wily Sac again and with larger forces, attention was naturally attracted to Samuel Whiteside, and the Governor appointed him Brigadier General and commander of all the state forces.

Though but five feet tall, it has been said of him that he contained more "fight" than a battalion of the average raw militia. He knew not fear or danger. At the village of Kapas, the Pottawattomie Indian, where the duty was put upon him to decide whether the troops should be mustered out or forced to continue the pursuit of Black Hawk up into Wisconsin, he mounted a whisky-barrel and declared that with one hundred men he would fight and whip Black Hawk; but with an army of cowards he would have nothing whatever to do, and he voted to send the levy of troops back home again. In his harangue, which has been only partially preserved, Colonel Zachary Taylor ably seconded him, from the head of the same whisky-barrel.

General Whiteside knew nothing of politics, and for that reason never secured office or aspired to it.

When at the mouth of Fox River, the troops had been mustered out by Major Buckmaster and Lieutenant Robert Anderson, it was considered necessary to protect the frontier with an emergency regiment. Such a regiment was recruited from the ranks

of the few who were willing to remain, and General Whiteside enlisted as a private in the company of Captain Adam W. Snyder. In Snyder's battle at Kellogg's Grove, a bullet from General Whiteside's rifle killed the leader of the Indians and terminated the fight decisively in favor of the whites. He was a dead shot. It may be added that Abraham Lincoln, who had been a captain in the first campaign, re-enlisted as a private in the company of Elijah Iles in the same emergency regiment.

Whiteside County, Illinois, was named in honor of Gen. Samuel Whiteside.

NOTE 7.—The orthography of foregoing names is incorrect in many instances.

NOTE 8.—Governor Reynolds's aids were James D. Henry and M. K. Alexander. Upon Henry's resignation, for active service John Dement was appointed. Enoch C. March was made Quartermaster General, and William Thomas Brigade Quartermaster.

NOTE 9.—The Indians had returned to the west side of the Mississippi River during the previous night instead of during the action, as might be inferred herein.

NOTE 10.—This affair is fully related in correspondence between General Joseph M. Street, the agent at Prairie du Chien, and General William Clark of St. Louis, to be found in report of Secretary of War made shortly after the affair was reported to him.

Twenty-five Menomnies were killed outright in the attack, while many others were wounded.

NOTE 11.—Now Beloit, Wisconsin.

NOTE 12.—Black Hawk in his autobiography was insistent that he was going to the Winnebago country by invitation, and for the sole purpose of "making corn."

NOTE 13.—The author states numbers accurately, but magnifies their ferocity.

NOTE 14.—Black Hawk was not a chief. He was simply a brave and leader of the band known as "the British Band"; so called by reason of its adhesion to British interests. It may be said that its hatred of everything American was more to the point than love of British interest, because so late as July 12, 1821, Captain T. G. Anderson, British Indian Agent, rebuked Black Hawk severely for his fault-finding.

NOTE 15.—It was Black Hawk's boast that he never violated a neutral or flag of truce. This is one instance of violation.

NOTE 16.—This name is generally spelled Ne-a-pope, and is pronounced Naw-pope.

NOTE 17.—Another admission that the mission of the band was not of peace.

NOTE 18.—Abraham B. DeWitt, of Morgan County. But DeWitt commanded the Third Regiment.

NOTE 19.—Jacob Fry.

NOTE 20.—John Thomas of St. Clair County. But Thomas commanded the First Regiment.

NOTE 21.—Oquawka, Illinois.

NOTE 22.—For many years it was contended that the volunteers, a company of which was commanded by Captain Abraham Lincoln, were sworn into the United States service at Dixon's Ferry, now Dixon, Illinois, by Lieutenant Jefferson Davis, then a Lieutenant in the regular establishment serving under Lieutenant Colonel Zachary Taylor. But Wakefield is right as to the place. The editor owns a letter written by Major Nathaniel Buckmaster on May 9, 1832, at the mouth of Rock River, wherein it is specifically stated that General Atkinson swore the troops into the service at that point.

NOTE 23.—The whites burned the village on their march up Rock River.

NOTE 24.—Paw Paw Grove was in the southwest township of DeKalb County and the southeast township of Lee County as now defined, named respectively Paw Paw and Wyoming townships, and not up on the river as indicated. Near Paw Paw Grove was Sha-bo-na's village; in the grove of that name, now within the township of Shabbona in DeKalb County.

The fact that Black Hawk was recruiting from the Pottawattomies at Paw Paw Grove, and that Sha-bo-na had consented to a parley at the mouth of Old Man's Creek in Ogle County, brought about this confusion in Wakefield's mind.

NOTE 25.—Within the present boundaries of Whiteside County.

NOTE 26.—Dixon, Illinois.

NOTE 27.—Kellogg's Trail, running from Peoria to Galena and Gratiot's Grove, made by O. W. Kellogg in 1827.

NOTE 28.—Isaiah Stillman and David Bailey.

NOTE 29.—Now Stillman's Run in Ogle County. So called from the "run" subsequently made by the cowardly volunteers.

NOTE 30.—Colonel James M. Strobe of Galena, Illinois. A very amusing account of his actions at Stillman's battle may be found in Ford's History of Illinois.

NOTE 31.—Captain Abner Eads, then of Peoria, later of Galena.

NOTE 32.—Captain David W. Barnes of Fulton County.

NOTE 33.—"Major" was a nickname only. Isaac Perkins was a private in the company of Captain John G. Adams.

NOTE 34.—Tyrus M. Childs was his name; not Cyrus. He was a private in Captain Barnes's company.

NOTE 35.—The author, who was not present at the fight, has adopted to a considerable extent the version given in a St. Louis paper by Stillman soon after it occurred. The encampment was just north of the present village of Stillman Valley, in Ogle County, while the thick of the fight was on the slope and at the top of the hill about half a mile to the south, upon whose summit the dead were buried. It was upon this eminence, now in the midst of the village, that Captain John G. Adams made his heroic stand, and there the State of Illinois has recently erected a handsome monument costing \$5,000.

The strength of the Indians was in reality much under 100 men, which when known made the retreat of the whites appear much more cowardly.

NOTE 36.—When Reynolds and Whiteside, just above the Prophet's town, determined to make a forced march to Dixon's Ferry, the wagons and provisions were stacked together and left behind, after a limited supply of rations was issued to the troops. Small as the issue may have been, the famine which appeared later would have been avoided had it been providently conserved; but with profound contempt for everything orderly or systematic, the provisions were wantonly wasted, and but for the sacrifice by John Dixon of his milch cows, Reynolds never could have held the men together until Atkinson arrived.

NOTE 37.—Rev. Reddick Horn of Cass County.

NOTE 38.—The army reached a Pottawattomie village on Sycamore Creek, now the left fork of the Kishwaukee River, the site of which subsequently became known as Coltonville, in DeKalb County. It was once the county seat, but was abandoned and is now part of a farm about a mile and a half southwest of Sycamore. There a crisis arose. The troops were still murmuring as they had been doing almost from the day they were sworn into service, and demanded their discharge, though but half of their time of enlistment had expired. To the north lay the path to Black Hawk, to the south their homes.

Colonel Zachary Taylor vigorously demanded that they continue northward, while Governor Reynolds pleaded, but to no purpose. A vote on the question by the captains, as to whether or not the army should disband, resulted in a tie, which was decided affirmatively by Whiteside, who declared he would no longer lead cowards. Thereupon he ordered the march resumed to the mouth of Fox River, where the men were mustered out of service.

Along the line of march, the troops lawlessly robbed Indian villages, including Sha-na's, and otherwise disgraced themselves.

NOTE 39.—Davis and Pettigrew.

NOTE 40.—This is a mistake. A detachment from Fort Dearborn marched to Fort Beggs (Plainfield, Will County), thence to Indian Creek, and there buried the victims.

NOTE 41.—A comma should appear between the two names, thus: Henry, Fry; meaning James D. Henry and Jacob Fry.

NOTE 42.—William C. Ralls from Schuyler County.

Abraham Lincoln re-enlisted as a private in the company of Captain Elijah Iles. Before this re-enlistment he was captain of a company in the Fourth (Col. Thompson's) Regiment.

NOTE 43.—The date should be June 15th instead of June 17th.

Adam Wilson Snyder was born in Connellsville, Fayette County, Pennsylvania, on the sixth day of October, 1799. In early life he learned the trade of wool carding, which he followed in Pennsylvania up to the day of his departure for the west.

He left Pennsylvania for the purpose of joining relatives in Indiana, but tiring of his long journey, which was made afoot, he tarried at a cross-roads store in Knox County, Ohio, to engage with its solitary owner as clerk. There he remained until persuaded to remove to Illinois by Jesse Burgess Thomas, later United States Senator, for the purpose of undertaking the management of a woollen mill which had been erected by the latter a short while before. Once more turning his face westward, he arrived at Cahokia in June of the year 1817, footsore and weary.

Under Judge Thomas, Snyder, who had steadfastly aspired to a professional career so

soon as the moment became auspicious, began the study of law, and was admitted to practice in the year 1820, though he had not attained his majority.

In 1823 he was elected by the legislature to fill the office of District Attorney.

In 1830 and in 1832 he was elected state senator, and in 1836 he was elected Representative in Congress, defeating John Reynolds. This was regarded at the time as the greatest achievement in Illinois politics. Again, in 1840, he was elected state senator and a presidential elector.

On December 11, 1841, he was nominated for the office of Governor by the Democratic convention, to which office he would have been elected beyond doubt, but his death occurred on May 14, 1842, from pulmonary consumption. Thomas Ford, who was appointed to assume his candidacy on the ticket, was elected.

NOTE 44.—The names in full are : William B. Mecomson, Benjamin Scott, and Benjamin McDaniel.

NOTE 45.—Theophilus W. Smith, then a Judge of the Supreme Court, was appointed to the general staff, on which occasion Major Breese, later United States Senator and Judge of the Supreme Court, was made Lieutenant Colonel, and John D. Wood, Major.

NOTE 46.—Father of General John A. Logan.

NOTE 47.—Rev. Reddick Horn.

NOTE 48.—Major John Dement. Few men, indeed, have been allowed the privilege of participating actively and influentially in the councils of their party and in the affairs of their state for a period of more than fifty years ; yet such is the record of the commander of the Spy Battalion who met Black Hawk in person at Kellogg's Grove, and for the first time convinced the wily Sac that the whites could fight well. It is the fact, that from the time Major Dement stopped Black Hawk at Kellogg's Grove, that Indian was kept upon a constant retreat until his band was driven into the Mississippi River at the mouth of the Bad Axe. And for the commander's bravery, Black Hawk paid him the handsomest compliment to be found in the biography which the latter subsequently published.

John Dement was born at Gallatin, Sumner County, Tennessee, in April, 1804, where he lived until the family moved to Town Mound in Franklin County, Illinois, in 1817. In 1826 he was elected sheriff of Franklin County. In 1827 he served in the expedition sent from Illinois to assist in the Winnebago War. The same year he represented Franklin County in the General Assembly, as he did in the succeeding session of 1830.

In the first campaign against Black Hawk, in 1831, he was made aid to Governor Reynolds. During the same year, in the face of keen opposition, he was elected state treasurer, which office he continued to hold until 1836, when he resigned it at the solicitation of the friends of Vandalia, to enter the General Assembly and lead the fight against moving the capital to Springfield.

It is worthy of note that when his son, Hon. Henry D. Dement, became Secretary of State many years after, he found some of the reports of his father as state treasurer. They were written upon foolscap paper, and showed that \$40,000 was collected for each of two years ; but as the money then in circulation was worth but 25 cents on the dollar, the income of the State in reality was but \$10,000 per annum.

Appointed Receiver of the Galena Land Office in 1837, he removed to Galena and remained there until the land office was moved to Dixon, in 1840, to which place he moved and remained till his death. In 1841, for political reasons, he was removed by President Harrison, but upon coming into office, President Polk reappointed him in

1845. He held the office again for four years, or until 1849, when a change of administration retired him for another four years. Again, in 1853, President Pierce reappointed him, and he held the office until it was abolished.

In 1834, while state treasurer, he was married to Miss Louise Dodge, daughter of the then General Henry Dodge, afterward Governor, Representative, and United States Senator in Congress from Wisconsin.

In 1844 he was made Presidential Elector for James K. Polk.

Major Dement was made a member of every Constitutional Convention held in Illinois up to the date of his death, with the exception of the first one, held in 1818, which of course met before he had reached his majority, and this too in the face of the fact that in 1862 and in 1870 his party at home was in a hopeless minority. Of those two conventions he was made the temporary presiding officer. In the last instance the honor was unusual, for the reason that his party was in the minority.

On January 16, 1883, he died at his home in Dixon.

While at Vandalia, as state treasurer, Stephen A. Douglas made his appearance as a candidate for the office of district attorney, his first political aspiration. Almost destitute of friends and entirely destitute of money, Major Dement divided his room with young Douglas, and assisted him to what might now be denominated a meal-ticket. Better than either, he introduced the aspiring candidate to powerful friends, and before Douglas was ready to return home Dement had secured for him the desired appointment.

The late General Usher F. Linder has told a story wherein he credits Major Dement with saving both the life and honor of the former: "General Linder had offended a desperate member of the state senate, for which a challenge very promptly followed through General James Turney, the senator's second. As Linder's second, Major Dement accepted, and replied that 'the fight must be with pistols at close quarters, each man holding a corner of the same handkerchief in his teeth.' General Turney was thunderstruck, and expostulated but to no purpose, that such a condition meant the deliberate murder of both. 'It don't matter,' answered Dement, 'your principal is cool, desperate, and deliberate, while my friend is nervous and excitable, and if he has to lose his life, your friend must bear him company.' The duel was called off without a moment's delay."

While receiver, Major Dement engaged in the business of smelting quite extensively, and during the latter years of his life, he was an extensive manufacturer of plows and flax bagging. At the time of his death, he was one of the largest land-owners in the State.

NOTE 49.—Lieutenant Colonel Theophilus W. Smith was later appointed Adjutant General by Governor Reynolds, Major Breese succeeding him, as above stated.

NOTE 50.—An independent company of spies, commanded by Captain Jacob M. Early, was organized also. In that company Abraham Lincoln served as a private until it was mustered out July 10th.

NOTE 51.—Captain Clack Stone commanded Apple River Fort during the fight and during the campaign. The place is now Elizabeth, Jo Daviess County.

From correspondence with Mr. N. B. Craig of Hanover, Illinois, who as a boy served in the company of his father, Captain James Craig of Jo Daviess County, it is concluded that the Flack referred to above was private John Flack, of Captain Craig's company.

Ezekiel Rawlins, father of General John A. Rawlins, was a member of Captain Stone's company.

NOTE 52.—Pecatonica.

NOTE 53.—Five were killed on Spafford's farm, to wit: Spafford, Searles, Spencer, McIlwaine, and an Englishman nicknamed "John Bull."

NOTE 54.—Son of Alexander Hamilton.

NOTE 55.—Henry Appel.

NOTE 56.—Montraville. The word Pecatonica is again misspelled on this page.

NOTE 57.—Those killed were Charles Eames, Michael Lovell, and Stephen P. Howard.

NOTE 58.—Twenty-third.

NOTE 59.—Colonel John Dement, subsequently of Dixon, Illinois.

NOTE 60.—Upon the discharge of Captain Iles's company after its twenty days of service, Abraham Lincoln, who had been a private therein, re-enlisted in the independent company of Captain Jacob M. Early and was engaged in scouting duty. The company was mustered out finally at Lake Koshkonong July 10, 1832.

NOTE 61.—Subsequently General Robert Anderson of Fort Sumter fame. Thus it will be observed that a remarkably large number of great Americans served together in the Black Hawk campaigns.

NOTE 62.—Sometimes called "trembling lands." So called from the fact that when trod by man or beast, a trembling movement or sensation was observed, attributed to the surface being supported by muck or water instead of a subsoil.

NOTE 63.—Present site of Fort Atkinson, Wisconsin.

NOTE 64.—Sylvia.

NOTE 65.—The so-called "Westerfield scare."

NOTE 66.—Had Henry concluded to obey Atkinson's orders literally, by returning direct to Koshkonong as soon as the provisions had been drawn, the campaign would have ended in disgrace just as the others had ended. On receipt of news purporting to locate Black Hawk's forces, he called a council of war, at which Alexander declined to disobey orders. While Dodge was in favor of immediate pursuit, he maintained that his forces were so crippled and decimated that the plan was impossible so far as his command was concerned. Thereupon Henry declared he would pursue the enemy if he had to move alone.

At this juncture, the usual pusillanimity of the volunteers was displayed in the form of a remonstrance headed by Lieutenant Colonel Jeremiah Smith and other petty officers, in which they refused to obey their General.

Henry ordered them under arrest and appointed Colonel Collins's regiment an escort to march the offenders back to Atkinson's headquarters, where, as he then told them, he had no doubt that every man would be shot. Such firmness was so unexpected, that the recalcitrants recoiled and in a body called upon Henry with an apology, protesting that ignorance alone was the cause. Henry as promptly forgave them. To their credit, be it said, they were among the very best fighters thereafter.

The company of Captain James Craig arrived opportunely with its fresh horses and men, from Jo Daviess County, to join Dodge's squadron, which so strengthened the

latter that he at once reported to Henry for duty. Had Henry been given supreme command in the first instance, untrammelled by suggestions or orders from Reynolds, the Black Hawk War had ended at Old Man's Creek. In fact, it may be said that had it been possible to send Henry for Black Hawk when the latter was at the Prophet's village, defying Atkinson with messages that his heart was bad and that he would not return, the poor deluded old fellow would have returned with an impression left upon his mind that he had no further business east of the Mississippi River.

NOTE 67.—Wakefield inadvertently writes of Dodge as "General" in many places, which is an error. He was in 1832, a Colonel of volunteers for the Territory of Michigan, of which Wisconsin was then a part, and not a General until later years.

NOTE 68.—The companies of Gentry, Clark, Camp, and Parkinson were Michigan companies belonging to Dodge's squadron.

NOTE 69.—Philleo did not kill the Indian at all, though he scalped him. Many other complaints could be lodged against the man's pretensions.

NOTE 70.—Prairie du Sac, opposite which the battle was fought.

NOTE 71.—Private Thomas J. Short of Captain Briggs's company. Eight men were wounded in the engagement.

NOTE 72.—Should be Bennet Riley. Morgan was Colonel Willoughby Morgan. Brady was General Hugh Brady.

NOTE 73.—General Robert Anderson of Fort Sumter fame.

NOTE 74.—This is a mistake. Captain Craig joined Dodge at Fort Winnebago, as stated in foot-note 66.

NOTE 75.—Albert Sidney Johnston.

NOTE 76.—Should be Abner Greer.

NOTE 77.—When our army appeared in sight Black Hawk deployed a band of about twenty Indians to meet Atkinson, engage his attention, and gradually draw that General away from camp. They did their work so well that Atkinson was deceived and placed his forces to attack an enemy which in reality was far below him. Major Ewing discovered the main trail, and reporting it to Henry, that officer (who had been assigned to guard the baggage in the rear) followed it with such vigor that the fight was won before Atkinson could participate.

NOTE 78.—Zachary Taylor, who was then a Lieutenant Colonel in the regular establishment.

NOTE 79.—This attack upon the willow island caused almost the entire number of casualties sustained by the whites, and the names of the United States officers which Wakefield did not remember were, Taylor himself in command, Major John Bliss, Captain W. S. Harney, and Captain Henry Smith.

NOTE 80.—The Warrior's fight was on the day before. Captain John Throckmorton commanded her.

NOTE 81.—The Prophet was a cross-bred Winnebago-Sac, whose village in what is now Whiteside County, Illinois, it will be remembered, was burned by Whiteside's men in passing that point.

There is no doubt about the fact that his evil genius had much to do with influencing Black Hawk's conduct.

NOTE 82.—This ceremony is very similar to those performed around the Hall girls during their captivity.

NOTE 83.—This disposition of the scalp-lock was very common among Indians of the Mississippi River and Valley. Travelers up and down the valley during the early part of the nineteenth century have unanimously testified to the fact. The boast of inviting an enemy to come and take it, so frequently made by Black Hawk, was pure fiction. With the same show of reason he might have claimed that plucking out the beard was peculiar to his individuality alone.

NOTE 84.—The Sioux inhabited the western bank of the Mississippi River. Finding their ancient enemies, the Sacs, crushed, they asked the privilege of pursuing those fugitives who had made their escape to the west side of the river. Without thought of the possible consequences, General Atkinson unfortunately granted them such permission. The scene of slaughter which followed was reported to be sickening.

NOTE 85.—The progress of General Scott with his army around the lakes; the spread of the cholera among his men, and his heroic efforts to stamp it out, should be read in full by every person who loves to read of noble deeds. Another notable name should be added at this point, that of Lieut. Joseph E. Johnston, Gen. Scott's aid, who accompanied the latter.

NOTE 86.—The impression prevailed at the time among the United States army officers that Keokuk had been aiding and abetting Black Hawk in secret, and he was even then suspected of harboring him from capture, an unjust and cruel suspicion.

NOTE 87.—Colonel S. C. Stambaugh.

NOTE 88.—Later General Robert Anderson.

NOTE 89.—Should be Wa-pel-lo. Emphasis on the first syllable.

NOTE 90.—Cha-e-tar. Pronounced in three syllables.

NOTE 91.—It is regrettable that when confronted by Keokuk, Black Hawk had forgotten all about the promised disclosures. His neglect in that particular gives plausibility to the theory that there was no truth to his assertions. Keokuk was found trying at all times to persuade Black Hawk to abandon his shadow chasing when at liberty, and when confined in Jefferson Barracks he sought to make Black Hawk's confinement bearable by taking him presents and ultimately bringing to him his wife and family.

Some measure of gratitude should have been manifested for such favors; but prior to 1832 the record is not illuminated with many examples of gratitude from Black Hawk.

NOTE 92.—This is a mistake. He was a full-blood Sac.

NOTE 93.—The name given in his autobiography is Ma-ka-tai-me-she-kia-kiak.

NOTE 94.—Wakefield is in error. Lieutenant Jefferson Davis took the prisoners down to Jefferson Barracks, near St. Louis. Lieutenant Colonel Taylor was not present on the trip.

NOTE 95.—The efficiency of Colonel Enoch C. March in the campaigns has been universally pronounced marvelous.

NOTE 96.—James Dougherty Henry has been styled by so respectable an authority as Judge Joseph Gillespie as the most remarkable man in Illinois down to the day of his death at New Orleans, March 4, 1834.

Born in Pennsylvania, he removed to Delaware, Ohio, in 1816, and there remained until the year 1822, when in a rage he whipped three or four fellow-workmen. That unwarrantable act compelled him to leave the place in haste. By keel boat he reached the mouth of Wood River, from which point he went to Edwardsville, and at once began work at his trade of shoemaker. To overcome his educational deficiencies, and gratify a passion for knowledge, he attended night school taught by William Barrett, beside which he induced the boy, Joseph Gillespie, to read to him during the day, while at work, biographies of such military heroes as Alexander the Great, Hannibal, Cæsar and Napoleon. Meagre as were those sources, his advancement in learning was phenomenal.

In 1826, Mr. Jonathan Atwater established him in business at Springfield, where he was enabled to take his first ambitious step. He was made sheriff of the county.

His nature was composed of numerous and painfully abnormal contrarieties. He was melancholy, retiring, and withal insanely ambitious for military renown. The same Judge Gillespie has said, "He was as mild as a May morning and as terrible as a tornado." Once, at Edwardsville, he suspected a negro named Jarrett, the slave of Joseph Conway, of doing him an injury,—a wholly unjust suspicion. Henry dragged the unfortunate wretch to the barn of Rowland P. Allen, stripped him to the waist, tied him to a hay-rack, and proceeded to lash him with hickory withes. The crowd of men which gathered stood helplessly and stupidly watching the act, afraid to antagonize the giant form of Henry and his fiendish rage; but when the cries of the negro reached the ears of Mrs. Allen, she seized a carving-knife from her table and rushed between the slave's bleeding body and Henry, who recoiled in astonishment, while Mrs. Allen cut the cords and led the negro to safety.

While that brutishness mellowed and at last disappeared almost entirely, its reappearance at Fort Winnebago, together with his powerful physique, awed an army and permitted him to advance and win the battles of the Wisconsin and the Bad Axe, the latter in the face of the fact that Atkinson purposely relegated him to the rear of the army in charge of the baggage, in a spirit of jealousy for having, contrary to orders, pursued Black Hawk, and whipped him at the Wisconsin.

The man was a fatalist, said to have been accentuated by reason of the misfortune of his birth, and when the Winnebago war, the 1831 campaign, and the first half of the 1832 campaign ended without presenting to him the opportunity to win fame, he was inconsolable.

Rugged as he had been, the severities of the last campaign undermined his health. Early in 1834 he sought relief in the milder climate of New Orleans, but without avail, and he passed away so quietly that until it became noised about that General Henry was dead, his presence in the city was almost unknown.

Before departing he had been nominated by a "People's Party" for Governor, and so reliable an authority as Governor Ford has stated that nothing but his death could have prevented his election by 20,000 majority. The coincidence might be called remarkable that two of the Black Hawk heroes were nominees for the office of Governor when death snatched away the honor.

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